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COMMUNICATION BARRIERS TO THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED.

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*MIDDLE CLASS, *CULTURAL DISADVANTAGEMENT, *COMMUNICATION PROBLEMS,
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SOCIAL RELATIONS, PRONUNCIATION, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THIS REPORT WAS DESIGNED (1) TO PROVIDE A MORE DETAILED AND SOPHISTICATED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SOCIAL DIFFERENCES IN ORAL COMMUNICATION AND (2) TO ASCERTAIN THE ACCURACY WITH WHICH SUBJECTS COULD IDENTIFY THE RACE AND EDUCATION OF SPEAKERS WHOM THEY COULD NOT SEE. TO DETERMINE REACTIONS TO PRONUNCIATIONS, THE INVESTIGATORS DEVISED AN INSTRUMENT COMPOSED OF PRONUNCIATIONS BY SPEAKERS OF SPECIFIC REGIONAL AND ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS. THIS INSTRUMENT WAS ADMINISTERED TO SOME THREE HUNDRED RESPONDENTS, WHITES AND NEGROES IN ALMOST EQUAL NUMBERS, OF VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS. IT WAS FOUND THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LOWER-CLASS WHITE SPEECH AND MIDDLE-CLASS TO LOWER-CLASS NEGRO SPEECH ARE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO DETECT THAN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SPEECH OF WHITE CHICAGOANS AND SOUTHERN NEGROES. IT IS AN INTUITIVE REACTION THAT SUPRASEGMENTALS AND PARALANGUAGE ARE MORE EFFECTIVE INDICATORS OF ETHNIC BACKGROUND THAN VOCABULARY, GRAMMAR, OR PRONUNCIATION. (JL)

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Communication Barriers to the Culturally Deprived

Cooperative Research Project 2107

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1966

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Table of Contents

Preface

Social Dialects: Cause or Symptom of Social Maladjustment (McDavid)

Gathering the Data (Davis and McDavid)

Chicago Phonology (Davis)

Phonological Indices of Social Dialects in Chicago (Pederson)

Social Aspects of Paralanguage (Austin)

Reactions to Pronunciations (V. and C. Larsen)

English and the Culturally Deprived: A Bibliography (Hoffman)

Each chapter is paginated separately and is followed by its own supplementary tables, etc. if such occur.

Preface

This report summarizes the findings of a cooperative research project (No. 2107) in social dialects sponsored by the University of Chicago and the Illinois Institute of Technology and supported by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.

As conceived by the investigators, the design of the project was simple. It seemed easy enough to find representatives of middle class and lower class speech, of whites and Negroes, to codify the differences, to select characteristic utterances of each group, to dub these on tape in random order, to record the way in which selected populations of respondents identified the racial and social status of the speaker of each utterance, and then to determind the validity of such identifications. Yet from the beginning, complications crept in.

Dialect interviewing in urban areas is difficult enough; but it was assumed that the experience of the investigators and their assistants would take these difficulties in stride. So it might have been in any previous year; so it might well be in the future. But, as anyone who reads American newspapers must realize, the period from the summer of 1963 through the election of 1964 was one in which there were more than usual difficulties for the interviewer of urban informants, especially in the Negro slums. Only the persistence and dedication of the interviewers--Melvin Hoffman, Lee Pederson, and John P. Willis--provided the field interviews, upon which the rest of the project depended.

It was originally hoped that the data from the field interviews could be put on punch cards for computer analysis. However, it soon became apparent that no program existed for treating anything but the lexical and grammatical data, for both of which the intuitive and informal social identification is already accurate. Programs for phonemic correlations are few; for sub-phonemic differences in pronunciation no satisfactory program has yet been worked out, though Roger Shuy of Michigan State should perfect one before the end of 1965. For suprasegmentals and paralanguage the programs are not yet conceived. Consequently, it was decided to sort the pronunciation data manually--old fashioned and slow, perhaps, but more accurate than machine manipulation could be.

The preparation of the instrument for ascertaining sociolinguistic reactions also posed a number of technical problems, notably the finding of representative speakers from each group whose tapes were of high enough fidelity to be easily duplicated in parts, the selection of control subjects, and the search for an extant computer program that could be adapted to the needs of the project. Whatever success this part of the project has achieved is due to the intelligence and devotion of Vernon S. and Carolyn H. Larsen, whose formal training in linguistics has been enriched by their knowledge of psychology and statistics, by their practical experience as test designers and publishers' editors, and by their deep appreciation of individual human dignity. They were aided by Marylou Lionells, by Phyllis Kaplan, and especially by Thomas Creswell, whose lifelong intimate experience with Chicago schools--from kindergarten pupil to teacher of methods courses in English--provides insights into the direction which a more effective school program must take.

It should be emphasized, however, that though the table of contents indicates primary credits, each investigator and research associate has discussed and examined each part and has made his contribution throughout. Credit is also due Betty Jacobsen, editorial assistant during the preparation of the report, and to two groups too numerous for specific listing: the administrative staffs of the two sponsoring institutions and the citizens of Chicago who served as informants, as respondents and as liaison between these groups and the investigators.

The study of specific correlations between pronunciations and social judgments will not stop with this report. It would be interesting to see what responses would be made in Eastern or Southern communities; the conclusions here presented are valid only for the Chicago metropolitan area, though one might expect similar reactions in other Inland Northern urban areas. These conclusions, tentatively advanced, are as follows:

1. Vocabulary reflects cultural experience, and can be expected to change as people become adjusted to city living. The survival of certain humble ethnic words in ethnic neighborhoods, of whatever kind, is traditional; it may even be reinforced by a feeling for in-group solidarity.

2. Grammar reflects social and educational advantages. Grammatical differences between middle-class and lower-class speech are easily identified. They are most striking in areas (such as the Southeastern and South-Central states) where sharp differences of caste and class have long been recognized. Since the Negroes of the Chicago slums are normally from the lower class of the lower caste of such regions--whether born there or in Chicago--it is to be expected that their speech would show strong divergences from the grammatical norms of middle class Chicago, and that in turn middle class Chicagoans would identify as "Negro grammar" features that are widely distributed in uneducated Southern speech of both races. The existence of these divergent grammatical forms has long been recognized in the schools; the traditional treatment, however, has been in terms of lapses, errors or deviations, with no recognition that they are part of a regular system. Future educational programs should be developed in terms of substituting for the grammatical system of lower-class Southern speech the system of middle-class Chicago white speech--at least for those economic and social situations where grammatical norms are important.

3. In pronunciation, differences between middle-class

and lower-class white speech or between middle-class and lower-class Negro speech are much less easy to detect than differences between the speech of white Chicagoans and Southern Negroes. Moreover, the fact that middle-class white Chicagoans often identified as a Southern Negro the Southern white control speaker suggests that for middle-class white Chicagoans any palpably Southern pronunciation is automatically registered as Negro, rural and uneducated though the speaker in question is city bred and the most highly educated of the speakers selected for the instrument. This kind of identification suggests that any educational application of this project should take two directions:

(a) Since for the moment the strongly Southern pronunciation of the Chicago lower-class Negro constitutes a social handicap, it would be desirable to teach Chicago middle-class pronunciation to the children of this group, beginning with nursery school. Such teaching should be informal at the beginning, in an effort to provide a substitute for the characteristic language learning process where children arriving from various communities pick up the local idiom from older children in their neighborhood. Since the normal situation will operate only after genuinely integrated residential patterns are established, teachers in this artificial situation must recognize a discrepancy between the "target pronunciation" in the schools and the home pronunciation--and avoid stigmatizing the latter. The air is functional bidialectalism, with the children able to switch codes as occasion demands.

(b) At the same time, as a part of education in human understanding, it would be desirable to include in the school English program, from a rather early period, something about the nature of language, the origins of dialects, and the variety of cultivated pronunciations to be found in the United States. Some textbooks already provide this kind of information, and several series of illustrative recordings are either in progress or planned.

4. It is an intuitive reaction that suprasegmentals and paralanguage are more effective indicators of ethnic background than vocabulary, grammar or pronunciation. Since only the crudest statements exist of regional and social differences in these features, extensive further research is necessary.

Raven I. McDavid, Jr.
William M. Austin
April 1965

Social Dialects: Cause or Symptom of Social Maladjustment

Raven I. McDavid, Jr.

University of Chicago

I am going to be somewhat anecdotal, but I think this treatment will lead into some of the complications that we encounter in working on social dialects, and perhaps the anecdotes will help us to realize how intricately these problems are inter-related with research, with one's own personal Weltanschauung, and with one's pedagogical career and interests. Here we might make a minimal statement of the commitment of the English teaching profession as a commitment to see that in a democratic society, every citizen should have a command of the standard idiom sufficient to enable him to fulfill his intellectual potentialities, whatever kind of job, career or ambitions he may have. Now if this sounds like one of the early phrases in Milton's Of Education, the similarity is deliberate, as coming from a retired Miltonist.

We have three strands of operation, leaving out all of the things that are going on in our major cities, in the halls of Congress, in the U.N. and so on, to come to grips with the fact that a number of citizens of various countries, of various socio-ethnic backgrounds, are not being given an opportunity to fulfill their potentialities. Let us first review the research of the last generation. It is 33 years since the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada was begun with fieldwork in New England. We have in this atlas the first attempt in linguistic geography to take into account the problems of social differences and the dimension of time. Those of us who have been working with the Linguistic Atlas have no illusions about having definitive answers, and no illusions that the findings of the thirties and forties are applicable to other situations that have kept on arising. In fact, from the very beginning Hans Kurath, director of the Atlas, has insisted that we needed many larger scale studies on particular problems. We simply could not cover more in the first investigation which had, as its major purpose, establishing the baselines and the general direction of apparent change in the speech of the United States.

The first suggestion that maybe we ought to say something to the social scientists came from Gordon Blackwell, then chairman of sociology at North Carolina, now President of Furman University, where he and I were classmates. One day when we were talking about the atlas materials, he said that we ought to have some comments in Social Forces so that we could at least start arguing intelligently. This conversation led to an article in the December 1946, Social Forces, pointing out the directions which my concern with social dialects has since taken. The intricate problem of the status indicator in South Carolina was then discussed in American Speech, 1948. Later came a note, based on the situation in

Buffalo and elsewhere, which got into Studies in Linguistics.[1] In 1951, my wife and I did a paper for the Dialect Society and the Speech Association at the request of Allen Walker Read on the relation of the speech of American Negroes to the speech of Whites.[2] Lorenzo Turner's 20 years of investigation of Gullah along the Carolina-Georgia coast was one of the major items that we had to take into account in this paper and that everyone who starts from some of the more marginal social dialects in the United States will have to take into consideration. For a number of years since then I have been involved in working through the materials put together first by the late H. L. Mencken, and part of the problem of updating and reorganizing these statements entailed recapitulating what had been said about problems in social dialects.

I grew up in a community where we said there were three races: whites, Negroes and cotton-mill workers. Here we had white and black separated by caste lines. We also had an industrial system of the closed mill village, the closed employment situation with the company store selling almost everything on credit, and we had separate, segregated schools for the cotton mills. In this community we could see a number of social differences in dialects. We learned, very easily, that certain vowels were identified with the poor whites, the hillbillies, and their derivatives, the cotton mill workers. We knew that there was a rural white speech--not hillbilly--which nice but unassuming people used. We knew that, in the city, not only were there differences in white speech and

Negro speech; we even learned that many of the more intelligent Negroes were bi-dialectal. That is, when they were speaking to the quality they would use one mode and when they were speaking back in the kitchen or to the yard man, they would use another. This intuitive perception is the kind of thing that one might expect from little boys playing around in grandmothers' houses and hearing things that maybe they were not supposed to hear; they would conclude intuitively that people learn to differentiate their mode of communication according to the situation in which they were communicating and according to the people to whom they were attempting to communicate.

In the course of my particular pedagogical career, I was translated to Charleston across a major bundle of isoglosses and observed there another kind of dialect situation where in many phonological matters the urban Negro and the urban white, upper-upper, were very much alike. The city also had the strivers and strainers, in between, who were not accepted by either of these groups. On the streets, one could hear some of the varieties of Gullah from the flower sellers and seafood peddlers who would come into town. Going out for fishing in the country, we often had trouble finding our way because we did not know the language in which to ask directions properly or to ascertain what the directions were when we got them.

Later, I spent two years in Louisiana, in the center of the Cajun country. There were many excellent speakers of local standard English. Unlike the situation in South Carolina, there were few poor whites who were native speakers of non-standard varieties of English. In their place were the rural Cajuns--French-speaking poor whites. According to Wallace Lambert, of McGill,[3] these people are doubly unfortunate--almost completely deculturized, illiterate in all languages; they have been made to feel that French is inferior, but have not been given a fair opportunity to learn anything approximating standard English.

Somewhat later, after three years with the Armed Forces Language Program and two decades with the Linguistic Atlas, I found myself increasingly involved in the problems of teaching in metropolitan areas.

In the fall of 1959, preparations for the Darwin Centennial drew me into a profitable association with the Chicago Department of Anthropology. One of the first fruits of that association was an invitation to participate in a seminar in "caste and class," along with McKim Marriott and Julian Pitt-Rivers. As a scion of an old family of British landed gentry, Julian could evaluate the American scene objectively and dispassionately; he remarked several times that, in the allegedly open society, social competition becomes keener and the unstructured markers of class increasingly important. He pointed out that the new "open society" has actually created a pattern of social segregation in the new one-class neighborhoods, and particularly the one-class suburbs like Levittown and Park Forest: as people move up economically they want to move away from those that they feel are economic and social threats, and toward those with whom they feel entitled to associate because of their new affluence. The flight from the central city to the suburbs is not solely white backlash, but a reflection of the fact that people in a democratic society have to keep running on the treadmill if they want to keep their place, and if they stop, they fall off and are considered failures. From these observations have come the motives for such research as the dissertations of Lee Pederson[4] and Gerald Udell[5], and the proposed dissertations of Thomas Creswell, John Dawkins and Vernon Larsen.

So much for the theoretical background of our Chicago research. As we would like to think, these theories have been influenced by practical teaching problems in particular situations, beginning with my first teaching in South Carolina. The first striking situation where it was clear to me that work in social dialects was a necessity for the schools was that in southern Louisiana. Since the democratic philosophy of the state school system sought to avoid saddling students with the stigma of failure, no matter how submarginal their accomplishments, many freshmen who entered the state college with diplomas and four units of English could literally not read, write, speak or understand English. In orthography, in grammar and pronunciation, there was a sharp divergence between the language practices of these people and those of the dominant English-speaking culture. Moreover, it was apparent that the Negro speakers of French in southern Louisiana were much more removed from standard southern Louisiana English than were the white Cajun French, because Louisiana then rigidly maintained the Southern tradition of separate and unequal accommodations in education and other social amenities. Clearly, in southern Louisiana, it was desirable to begin, at an early age, the teaching of English as a foreign language.[6]

After World War II and several years of field work, I went to Western Reserve, in Cleveland, Ohio, a quality university with periodic illusions of football grandeur. Harrison Dillard, the great Negro hurdler, was a former student under our coach, Eddie Finnegan; thus Reserve attracted many Negro athletes, especially from Warren, Ohio. Warren, a town of about fifty thousand, is not large enough for educational segregation to have any particular impact on the quality of English teaching in high schools. Yet the Negro graduates from Warren High, who usually did well on the college boards, showed in their compositions all of the grammatical features we associate with uneducated Negro speech, especially the nomadic appearance of the inflectional endings of verbs and nouns. One concluded that though the schools were not segregated, other social contacts were, since these grammatical forms could not have survived if whites and Negroes lived side by side and played together as equals.

In 1956-57 my wife taught in the Cleveland extension program of Kent State University, aimed at producing cadet teachers for the Cleveland public schools. In the program on the east side of Cleveland, the overwhelming majority of the students were Negroes. They were, as a rule, highly motivated and highly intelligent, but most of them had the non-standard grammar one associates with Mississippi or Alabama, for many had grown up in those states. Many of these students had to take non-credit English before they could get into freshman work. The grammatical problems were especially acute with the non-credit students, just as they have been in my wife's remedial and freshman English courses at Chicago Teachers College, South. A casual comment of hers--"All week I have been trying to teach standard English as a foreign language."--was probably the first suggestion I had that the techniques of second language teaching might be adapted to this problem. At the same time I discovered, through evening classes for in-service teachers, that the classroom teachers in Chicago are aware that the grammar of the slum Negro is a major problem. However, most teachers do not know what to do with this problem, and when they start to talk about the grammatical characteristics that distinguished Negro and white speech, professional racemen may say, "Don't mention this; this is discrimination." But among scholars concerned with the fate of our country, mentioning these features is not discrimination; we must talk about things that occur, for failure to mention them and to seek a cure will help perpetuate discrimination.

Thus theoretical concern, social observation and practical experience lie behind Pederson's dissertation and the growing cooperation with public and private groups interested in removing the educational, ecomonic and social handicaps of the underpriviledged urban Negro. We conclude that we must remove their linguistic handicaps if our educational system is to survive. The grammatical problems are of such an order that we advance the suggestion--which Mencken had reported before the war and which my wife independently derived from her teaching experience--that in our urban slums and other areas where divergent social dialects exist, we might teach standard English as a foreign language.

One other problem is involved in our project: to convey to the dominant culture a better understanding of what standard English actually is. We must keep reminding our neighbors that standard American English has many varieties, all good. We must remind them not to confuse what is regionally and what is socially different. And we must also realize--and make others realize--that a person's dialect is one of his most intimate possessions. We may want to give a person other modes of his language to communicate with in other situations, but we do not want to make him too self-conscious about the fact that he and his family and friends naturally use a non-standard dialect. After all, it may sometimes be to one's advantage to be able to switch back into the childhood mode, to communicate naturally with those who are still striving to improve their lot.

Notes

1. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "Dialect Geography and Social Science Problems," Social Forces, vol. 25, pp. 165-72 (Dec. 1946); "Postvocalic /-r/ in South Carolina: A Social Analysis," American Speech, vol. 23, pp. 194-203 (Oct.-Dec. 1948); "Dialect Differences and Inter-Group Tensions," Studies in Linguistics, vol. 9, pp. 27-33 (April 1951).

2. Raven I. McDavid, Jr., and Virginia Glenn McDavid, "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites," American Speech, Vol. 26, pp. 3-17 (Feb. 1951).

3. Professor Lambert is the author of numerous studies on bilingualism, second-language learning, and related topics.

4. Lee Pederson, The Pronunciation of English in Chicago: Consonants and Vowels, University of Chicago, 1964.

5. Gerald Udell, The Speech of Akron, Ohio: A Study in Urbanization, University of Chicago, 1965.

6. It is ironical that these people do not appear in the census rolls as speakers of foreign languages because the 1960 census indicates only the native tongue of the foreign born; presumably, everyone growing up in this country is a native speaker of English.

Gathering the Data

Alva L. Davis

and

Raven L. McDavid, Jr.

The evidence on which the specific studies are based was collected by a modification of techniques first devised for the Atlas Linguistique de la France (1902-10), by its director Jules Gilliéron:

1. Indentifiable informants.
2. Trained investigators.
3. Interviewing in a situation familiar to the informant.
4. A questionnaire of specific relevant items.
5. Simultaneous transcription on the spot, in a finely graded phonetic alphabet.
6. Recording of a single, spontaneous, naive response.

Of these principles, 1, 3, and 4 were followed consistently. The others were modified somewhat because of the situation, and because of a technological advance through the invention of the tape recorder. Since every interview was recorded on tape, it was possible to use interviewers less highly skilled in simultaneous phonetic transcription than, say, Edmond Edmont of the French Atlas or Guy S. Lowman, Jr., of the Linguistic Atlas of New England; only Pederson was experienced in field interviewing, and even he had found that the tape recorder provided opportunities for checking field transcriptions and for picking up additional unguarded responses. A good deal of the transcription from the tape--including the refinement of field-worker transcriptions--was done by Davis. Since a part of the record of American dialects (and particularly of social dialects) is the vacillating between competing forms, variants were noted insofar as they occurred in the record.[1]

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[1] A detailed investigation of a limited number of variables is found in the dissertation of William Labov of Columbia University, published in 1966 by the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.

Unlike traditional linguistic atlases, the Chicago investigation did not confine itself to natives of the community; a precedent is Juanita Williamson, A Phonological and Morphological Study of the Speech of the Negro of Memphis, Tennessee, diss. (microfilm) U. of Michigan, 1961.

To ascertain the linguistic acculturation of recent immigrants, notably Southern Negroes, two groups of informants were chosen, representing shorter and longer residence in Metropolitan Chicago. For the local baseline, one is referred to Lee Pederson, The Pronounciation of English in Chicago; Consonants and Vowels, dissertation (MS), U. of Chicago, 1964.

The questionnaire was based on the Short Work Sheets for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, originally devised in 1939 by Hans Kurath, Director of the Linguistic Atlas, and modified in 1949 for the North-Central States by Davis and McDavid. Since the North-Central version as used in the field comprises something like 600 items and requires about five hours of interviewing, it was considered desirable to abridge them further for this study. The final version comprises about 160 of the most easily elicited items, and can be covered in an hour and a half. Most of the items are significant for pronounciation differences; several of the grammatical items that might reveal social distinctions are retained, and a very few of the vocabulary items. The omissions are almost always matters of vocabulary, especially items of old-fashioned rural culture that have been found unproductive in urban areas and of little consequence for social differences. At most they would reveal what is known already, that recent arrivals from Appalachia or the Deep South have a familiarity with rural living that native Chicagoans do not have.

For purposes of comparison, the page numbers of the North-Central worksheets have been retained.

Worksheets for Metropolitan Chicago

Introductory page   Date:

Transcribed by: Reviewed by:

Locality

Full Address

Name   Age

Place of Birth

Other communities where informant has lived   (give dates):

Education: Occupation:

Social Contacts (church, lodges, other associations):

Family history:

Character of the community

Character sketch and speech characteristics (familiarity with other dialects, tempo, clear or slurred, stress and pitch range, etc.):

Items by Pages

1) one two three four five six seven
eight nine ten eleven twelve thirteen
fourteen

2) twenty twenty-seven thirty forty forty-four
seventy hundred thousand first second third
fourth fifth sixth ninth tenth all at once
twice as (good)

3) January February April Tuesday Wednesday
Thursday Saturday good morning

4) yesterday tomorrow half past

5) this year this-here

6) chimney

6 A) a list of rooms in the house

7) soot ashes chair furniture

8) window

9) laundry washing and ironing porch shut the door
dréve /past tense/

10) roof I have heard it /note unstressed have/
I haven't done it /stressed and unstressed; note ain't, hain't/
he does

12) dairy

13) china

15) wash the dishes rinses faucet (on kitchen sink)
faucet (in yard) whip

16) bag sack

17) candle

18) brush

19) (railroad) trestle

20) grease /verb/ greasy oil kerosene (inner) tube
I am going, we. . . , they. . . /is auxiliary verb omitted?/
Am I going (to get some?), . . . they . . .

21) I am not (going to hurt him), he . . . , they . . .
/note use of ain't, hain't/ (I'm right) am I not?
/note ain't I?/ We were (going to do it) No, it wasn't me

22) brought bulge

23) purse umbrella (it goes) clear (across)

25) cement road (he isn't) at home without (milk)
with (milk) /with before voiced sound/ toward (s)

26) dog (he was) bitten (by a dog)

27) cow horse

28) (he fell) off (the horse) horseshoes

33) a little way anywhere at all /record examples of
e 'er a, ne 'er a, airy, nairy/ /examples of multiple negative/

34) yours ours theirs his hers

35) you /record sing. and pl./

36) (two) pounds (of flour) yeast yolk

37) yellow /the color/ boiled eggs /what does "soul food"
mean?/

38) (we) ate (at six o'clock) (have you) eaten
(I'm going to) make coffee

39) a glass of water milk (I) drank (it)
(how much have you) drunk sit down! /invitation to sit
down at table: for family; for strangers/
(I) sat down help yourself

40) warmed over /of food/ vegetables genuine
those (boys) this way

43) tomatoes onions

45) (I) can't (I) done (worked all day) /only emphatic?/

47) cobweb /in house/ spider web /in woods or fields/

49) (my) husband (my) wife widow parents

50) daughter son boy girl

52) /slow and fast form of Mrs./ (your) aunt

53) Judge (Marshall)

54) forehead the right ear

55) beard mouth palm /of the hand/ fists joint

56) chest (I'm) afraid (she) didn't use to (be afraid)
/negative of used to/ careless

57) tired

58) (she) got sick (he) caught a cold hoarse
(haven't you) taken (your medicine) deaf (he) sweated
(he) took (it)

59) boil /a discharging sore/ pus

60) (they are in) mourning don't worry

62) married

63) railway station /contrast with bus station; try for four-stress
items/ hotel hospital nurse

64) Alabama Louisiana Tennessee Mississippi

65) Detroit Birmingham

66) (they) joined (the church)

67) a haunted house (I'd) rather (not go)

68) (it) costs (too much)

69) borrow (I) swam (across) (he) dived (in)
(he was) drowned (he) climbed (a tree)

70) (she) kneeled (down) (I) woke up (early) stamp (the floor)

71) pull push (don't you) touch (it)

72) (who) caught (it?) give me another chance?
(I have) written (to him)

73) (who) taught (you that?) (that's the one you) gave (me)
(he) began (to talk) (he) ran (away)

74) (he) came (over to see me) (he) saw (me go in)
(the road was all) torn up (he) did (it)

75) always (they) fought might could (do it)

Chicago Phonology

Alva L. Davis
Illinois Institute of Technology

In Language (1933) Leonard Bloomfield sets up 32 'primary phonemes' and nine 'secondary phonemes' for Chicago speech. Although more recent studies of the pitches and stresses have resulted in the establishment of four stresses and four pitch levels (with the strong possibility that the highest pitch may be part of the paralanguage and that the stresses may be predictable from pitch contours), Bloomfield's description was highly useful. The Linguistic Atlas framework for stresses is similar to his in all respects, while pitches are not systematically recorded. It is now generally held that investigation of the pitches, stresses and junctures must be studied in longer utterances than those usually elicited by the Atlas questionnaire.

Bloomfield's symbols for the segmental phonemes differ somewhat from those used by the Linguistic Atlas:

B	LA
ɛ	æ
o	ʌ, ə

The 32 'primary phonemes' consisted of 24 consonants and eight vowels, with eight diphthongs (or 'compound primary phonemes') consisting of a vowel plus one of the semivowels /j,w/. The secondary phonemes consisted of four types of

stress--extra loud, loud, less loud, syllabicity (for syllabic consonants)--and five levels of pitch--falling, rising-falling, rising, extra high ('distorted') and pause-continuing.
In his treatment of the vowels Bloomfield finds two lower-mid phonemes /ε,ɔ/ and two low phonemes /a, / (or /æ,ɔ; a, /). There has been no certain evidence in the materials collected for this study to substantiate the /a, / difference, as in alms, odd, a difference which he notes for some Central Mid-Western speakers. His use of /o/ for [ʌ,ə], and for [o] when followed by /w/ is consistent. Another way of handling the same data would be to write o for [ɔ] and separate his two allophones of /o/, e.g.

B	D
ow	ow
o	ə
ɔ	o

For unstressed /ə/ Bloomfield uses syllabicity, or mere reduction of the related stressed vowel, as in /batm̩/ 'bottom', /err̩/ 'error', /batl̩/ 'bottle', /glεsez/ 'glasses', /lεnded/ 'landed.'

For present day middle-class Chicago speech the following vowel sound units can be set up:

	Front	Central	Back
high	i (iy)		u (uw)
	I (i)		U (u)
mid	e (ey)	ə (ə) ə (ər)	o (ow)
	ε (e)		
low	æ (æ)	a (a)	(a)

The symbols in parentheses indicate the Trager-Smith equivalents, which have been widely used by American linguists during the last fifteen years. The use of the simple symbols is in accordance with the practice usually employed in handling Linguistic Atlas data, but the Trager-Smith notation could be used for the Chicago materials by substitution of the appropriate symbols.

In the high-central area of the chart, no phoneme has been set up for Chicago native speech. Phonetically, the vowel does occur, but it is allophonic with /I/ or with /ə/. In the stressed vowel of wish it may be interpreted as /I/ retracted and lightly rounded by the initial /w-/; in the second syllable of furniture and ashes, it may be interpreted as a central vowel raised by the adjacent palatalized alveolar. Use of an over-all frame of phonemics would justify the setting up of the high central phoneme, but there would be no resultant economy in representation for this dialect, and such a procedure would tend to obscure dialect differences in phonemic oppositions. A non-syllabic variant of the high-central vowel is also a very common second element in such diphthongs as those of buy and boy.

The wide diphthongs to be set up are:

aI (ay) aU (aw) ɔI (oy).

Examples from the Data

[i˅i]	[i˅, i]
three	eleven
fourteen	twenty
greasy	thirty
kerosene	seventy
we	January
he	February
me	chimney
yeast	laundry
eaten	greasy
depot	cement
Louisiana	Mississippi
Tennessee	Detroit

In stressed syllables /i/ has a slightly higher off-glide. In unstressed syllables the off-glide may be absent.

/I/

six
fifth
living
kitchen
window
chimney
did
dishes
whip
bit
little
his
drink
this
widow
fists
Mrs.
ill

In both stressed and unstressed position [I] is typical. After /w/, as in *whip*, *window*, there may be centering and rounding.

Before tautosyllabic /r/, as in *year*, *here*, *beard*, *ear*, it may be lengthened and sometimes slightly raised.

/e/

[e˅I]

ate
April
make
tomatoes
station
came
railroad
eight
day
way
taken
gave
may
Tuesday

Stressed /e/ is a diphthong beginning a little lower than [e] and gliding to a higher position, close to lower high-central. In *railroad* the off-glide may be absent. In unstressed position, as in the names of the days of the week, /e/ may alternate in careful speech with /i/.

/ɛ/

seven
ten
eleven
twelve
twenty
seventy
second
seventh
Wednesday
chest
yesterday
bedroom
trestle
umbrella
trestle
umbrella
cement
fell
help
deaf

[ɛ] is usual, but there may be an in-glide as in *deaf*, *sweat*, *knelt*, *chest*. In *eggs* the in-glide is common. Before tautosyllabic /r/ as in *chair*, *theirs*, *scared*, *careless*, lengthening usually occurs.

In *trestle* some centering occurs. This may be a 'compromise vowel,' in that the folk pronunciation has the vowel of *cut*, and the word is rare in urban speech.

/æ/

man
Saturday
January
half past
bath
ashes
taps
bag
sack
candles
sat
glass
can't
aunt
Alabama
swam
began
ran

A centering off-glide may occur in any of these words, without apparent patterning but perhaps caused by tempo or sentence-stress. In bag, the off-glide often extends to the high-central position.

Such words as aunt, half past, bath, glass -- shibboleths for the "broad a" in other forms of English -- regularly have the vowel of bat.

/a/

wash
palm
calm
hospital
cob
borrow
not
water

/a/ is likely to have length and a centering off-glide. There seems to be no contrast between lower low-front and lower low-back, as between balm and bomb. Before /r/, as in March, are, there is fronting.

/ɔ/

Laundry
wash
faucet
brought
dog
off
soft
haunted
caught
taught
saw
fought
coffee
daughter

Regularly in stressed open syllables, as in *law*, frequently elsewhere as in *ought*, this vowel is accompanied by length and a centering off glide.

four
fourteen
forty
fourth
tomorrow
porch
door
towards
horse
hoarse
morning
mourning

The vowel of *law* is regular before /r/ in these and similar words, but there is an occasional raised variety in *four*, a remnant of the former contrast between such pairs as *horse* and *hoarse*.

/o/

[oU]

drove
go
won't
over
home
yolk
cold
depot
hotel
dove
don't
tomorrow
window
yellow
tomatoes
widow
borrow

/o/ is regularly diphthongized in stressed position. In weak final position, as in *tomorrow*, there may be no perceptible off-glide.

/U/

good
soot
roof
your
pull
took
push

/U/ is usually accompanied by a centering off-glide. In *push* the off-glide is very high, almost suggesting the /uy/ of Trager and Smith. Before /r/, as in *your*, /U/ varies with the vowel of *cut*, depending upon stress.

/u/

[uw, u˘w]

two
Tuesday
room
you
tube
February
January
genuine

In stressed syllables /u/ is a diphthong, the first element fronted after /t/.

In *genuine*, *January*, *February*, the syllabic is monophthongal, with /w/ beginning the following syllable.

/ə/

one, once
hundred
sudden
front
done
does
brush
bulge
onions
son
judge
pus
touch
something
nothing
drunk

In stressed position the vowel of *cut* may vary from mid-central to advanced lower mid-back; it is usually monophthongal, though a centering off-glide may occur.

In unstressed position, as in *sofa*, *ago*, it is usually mid-central, slightly raised before /d, s, z, n/ as in *added*, *careless*, *ashes*, *kitchen*.

[ɚ]

thirteen
thirty
first
third
Thursday
furniture
worked

girl
worry
nurse
heard
were
hers
over

In both stressed and unstressed positions the vowel of *sir*, *father* always has constriction, which usually begins with the onset of the vowel.

/aI/

nine
white
twice
dining
ironing
I've, I
china

spider
wife
right
tired
climbed
might
why

/aI/ normally begins in the low-central position, sometimes slightly fronted, and glides to lower high-central. Even in unstressed syllables it is clearly diphthongal.

/aU/

thousand
without
cows
ours

pounds
down
mouth
drowned

/aU/ normally begins in the low-central position, sometimes slightly fronted, and glides to lower high-back, with increasing lip rounding.

/ɔI/

oil
Detroit
boil
boy, boys
joint
joined

/ɔI/ begins in the upper low-back position and glides to lower high-central.

Syllabic consonants

[n̩, l̩]

thousand
sudden
haven't
bitten
eaten
and (weak stressed)
written
candle
trestle
vegetables

Syllabic n̲ and l̲ are regular after /t, d, s, z/. In this position the l̲ is always dark.

No evidence for syllabic [m̩, n̩] -- as in possum, bacon -- was found in the materials examined for this study.

/ᵻ/

ashes
furniture
window
widow

No firm evidence appears which would justify setting up a phoneme /ᵻ/. The occurrences of a phonetic high-central vowel can be explained as allophones of the vowels of but or bit.

Consonants

Although the analysis and organization of the vowels of American English has been a controversial subject for more than three decades, this has not been true of the consonants except for minor details. Accordingly the following description is somewhat condensed.

Stops

	voiceless	voiced
bilabial	p	b
alveolar	t	d
velar	k	g

The voiceless stops in initial position in strongly stressed syllables are followed by a puff of breath ('aspiration').

porch
past
pounds
pull
push

two
Tennessee
taught
twice
Tuesday

careless
kerosene
cold
caught
can't

After /s/, when initial in unstressed syllables, between vowels, or in post-vocalic position the aspiration is not present, except occasionally for emphasis at the ends of words.

April
whip
spider
hospital
Mississippi

taught
past
front
soot
station

scared
second
make
milk
taken

/t/ may be aspirated in twice. When intervocalic /t/ follows a strongly stressed syllable and precedes a weak-stressed one, it is normally voiced and may become a flap. In this position, /t/ is often indistinguishable from /d/; for many Chicago speakers there is no contrast between intervocalic /t/ and /d/. A glottalized /t/ occurs occasionally as in mountain, sat down.

thirty
seventy
Saturday
water

seated
sweated
tomatoes
daughter

/k/ varies its position, depending upon accompanying sounds. It is fronted or palatalized in six, make, kerosene; velarized in caught cold, cool, school.

The voiced stops have little if any aspiration. They may be partially devoiced in word-initial and word-final position. Like /k/, /g/ varies in the position of articulation from front to back, according to environment.

bedroom
bag
brush
umbrella
bitten
beard
February
tube

dining
door
drove
do
sudden
hundred
bed
window

good
bag
greasy
go
dog
glass
gave
rag

Fricatives

voiceless	voiced
f	v
θ	ð
s	z
š	ž

/f/ and /v/ are labiodentals with air passing through the teeth or between the teeth and lower lip. An occasional bilabial fricative may be substituted in rapid speech.

f	v
four	seven, seventh
five	eleven
fourteen	twelve
forty	seventy
first	of
front	drive, drove
furniture	haven't
roof	over
off	vegetables
soft	
soft	
coffee	
wife	

/θ/ and /ð/ appear to be most commonly made with the tip of the tongue behind the upper teeth, but other varieties occur, as with the tip of the tongue between the teeth or against the lower teeth.

θ	ð
three	they
thirteen	there
third	without
with	those
	this

In *with* and *without* both the voiceless and the voiced fricatives occur.

/s/ and /z/ are articulated at the alveolar ridge; /z/ may show considerable unvoicing, especially in final position. This unvoicing is most frequent in neighborhoods with heavy concentrations of recent immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe.

s	z
six	Tuesday
seven	dishes
first	candles
sudden	is, was
faucet	towards
whips	cows
sack	yours

Among middle-class natives of Chicago *greasy* always has intervocalic /s/.

/š/ is made a little farther back than /s/, often with lip rounding and a wide flat opening between the tongue and the alveolar ridge.

washed
dish

shut
shall

/ž/, the voiced counterpart of /š/, occurs far less frequently than any other English consonant, especially in initial and final position. Words in which it would occur most frequently, as *pleasure*, *division*, were infrequent in the data gathered for this project.

/č/ and /ǰ/ are phonetically affricates; that is, they are combinations of stop and spirant. /č/ is [t] plus

[s], and /ǰ/ is [d] plus [z].

č	ǰ
March	January
chimney	bulge
kitchen	genuine
chair	judge
furniture	joint
porch	joined

Nasals

The nasals /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ -- bilabial, alveolar and velar -- are regularly voiced and show little allophonic variation, except that /ŋ/ has a variation from front to back similar to that for /k/ and /g/.

m	n	ŋ
man	one	morning
March	seven	ironing
room	nine	going
me	ten	drink
milk	thousand	drunk
warm	eaten	shrank
Alabama	once	something
mother	window	nothing
	not	

Lateral /l/

/l/ is produced with the tip of the tongue at the alveolar ridge and air passing over the sides of the tongue. It may be voiceless following a voiceless stop or spirant, as in class, please, slippery. Dark /l/ (velarized) is common in all positions, and regular when /l/ is postvocalic or syllabic.

eleven
glass
Louisiana
little
hospital
vegetable
twelve
all
April
boiled
will
climb
candle
oil
milk
pull
girl
class

/r/

Although /r/ is often called 'retroflex' it is perhaps best characterized by the pressure of the tongue against the molars. The tip of the tongue may or may not be turned back. In three the /r/ may be a voiceless flap or scrape, in Detroit a voiceless scrape, in drove a voiced scrape.

room
rinse
railroad
horse
torn
parents
merry
four
forty
fourteen
chair
door
morning
marry

Monophthongal vocalic r has been discussed with the vowels.

/w/

/w/ is a u-like glide sound, beginning high to mid-back, depending on the height of the following vowel. It is voiceless after voiceless consonants, as in twice, twenty, swim.

one, once
twenty, twice
January
Wednesday
window
wash
we
won't
were
towards
warm
genuine
way
work

In the Trager-Smith analysis, post-vocalic /w/ appears as the final component in the syllable nuclei of *cow*, *go*, *do*. This has been previously discussed.

/h/

A syllable-initial /h/, sometimes classified as a fricative or as a voiceless vowel (whose position varies according to the position of the following vowel), appears under all conditions except weakest stress; it is lacking from such common forms as the weak-stressed variants of *he*, *his*, *her*, *him*, *have*.

husband
hundred
haven't
he, him, his, hers
home
hoarse, horse
hotel
hospital
heard

There is no sure evidence for setting up, for Chicago speech, a post-vocalic /h/ as proposed by Trager and Smith.

/hw/, sometimes called a voiceless /w/, is perhaps best analyzed as a cluster. In middle-class Chicago speech it occurs regularly in words like *whip*, *which*, *why*, *where*. However, there is considerable variation in its incidence from speaker to speaker, especially in the descendants of recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe.

/j/

/j/ is a front i-type glide **which**, like its back counterpart /w/, **varies** with the **position** of the following vowel.

you
yesterday
yolk
onion
January
yeast
yellow
yes

The analysis of the final vocalic components of bee, bay, buy, boy as a post-vocalic /j/ -- the analysis proposed by Trager and Smith -- has been previously discussed.

Lower-Class White Speech

The phonology of lower-class native Chicago white speech is remarkably similar to that of the middle class. Variations from middle-class norms are not consistent, for all informants show an awareness of "correct" forms. The following remarks account for most of these variations:

(1) Substitution of /t/ for /θ/ in ninth, tenth, three, thirsty, throat, think, and substitution of /d/ for /ð/ in the, those, this. It seems, however, that some

speakers with this feature still maintain a phonemic distinction, in that the /t, d/ derived from /θ, ð/ may be dentals, contrasting with alveolar /t, d/ in *ten*, *dead*. More research must be done before a definitive statement can be made.

(2) A glottal stop is a common substitute for /t/ in *sit down*, *Saturday*, and for /f/ in *half past*.

(3) In word initial /w/ often replaces /hw/ in *whip*, *where*, *why*, etc. As we have indicated before, however, this replacement also occurs in Chicago middle-class speech.

(4) The participial suffix -*ing* (and the final syllable of such words as *nothing*, *something*) may appear with /n/, either syllabic or preceded by a weak-stressed mid-central or high-front vowel. This feature is rare in Chicago middle-class speech.

(5) A full diphthong of the type [UI] appears occasionally in *push*.

(6) Stress is reduced from tertiary to weak, as in the final syllable of *avenue*, or from secondary to tertiary, as in the final syllable of *kerosene*. In the names for the days of the week, which often have /e/ under weak stress with middle-class speakers, /i/ is regular with weak stress in the speech of the lower class.

It must be emphasized here that not all of these features are diagnostic for lower-class white speech in other communities. In British Received Pronunciation (3) is regular, as in parts of the Eastern United States and the Lower Mississippi Valley; in the Old South, and in British "county" families (4) and (6) are common; in parts of the South (5) appears even in educated speech.

The small sample of lower-class, non-Chicago white speech examined for this project has a very different dialect base -- that of the Southern Upland, commonly called South Midland in the American linguistic atlases. This speech has been described at length in Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., _The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States_ (Ann Arbor, 1961). Some of the characteristics of this regional type of speech are:

(1) /aI/ as a monophthong in all positions: _my_, _ride_, _right_. In extreme cases this becomes homonymous with the vowel of _father_; by Northerners it is often confused with that vowel.

(2) /j/ after /t, d, n/ in _tube_, _due_, _new_, etc.

(3) Contrast between _horse_ and _hoarse_, _morning_ and _mourning_, etc.

(4) A fronted and raised beginning of the diphthong /aU/, as in _out_, _loud_.

(5) /u, U/ with high-central rather than high-back articulation.

(6) /z/ in greasy.

(7) /U/ in bulge, bulk, budget.

(8) /o/ in poor, your, etc.

(9) put with the vowel of cut.

Of these features only the last is characteristic of the lower class in the South Midland region. However, since a majority of the South Midlanders that the average Chicagoan encounters are of the lower (or at best, lower middle) class, they may be considered popular social markers of speech in Chicago.

Incidence of Phonemes

Besides the phonological organization which characterizes dialects, some distributions of phonemes are also typical; that is one dialect may have /s/, another /z/ intervocalically in greasy. Some items show consistency in native Chicago speech, while others do not.

Before tautosyllabic /r/, as in four, fourteen, forty-four, horse, hoarse, porch, tore, torn, only the vowel of law occurs.

Similarly, in chair, there, careless, scared only the vowel of bet is found.

Before intervocalic /r/, in tomorrow, the vowel of law is more common than that of father; in borrow the situation is reversed, with the vowel of father predominant.

The vowel /U/ is regular in *roof*, *soot* (one occurrence of /u/); the vowel /u/ is regular in *room* (one speaker has /U/).

Wash shows both the vowel of *law* and that of *father*, with the latter more common in the lower-class sample. It usually has an off-glide to central, sometimes to lower high-central. *Water* normally has the vowel of *law*, but /a/ occurs; one speaker has /a/ in *water* only in the phrase *hot water*.

Won't regularly rhymes with *don't*.

Hospital, *faucet* always have /a/.

Brought, *dog* always have the vowel of *law*.

Greasy always has /s/.

With and *without* occur with both /θ/ and /ð/. The former predominates in *with*, the latter in *without*.

Rinse occurs with both the vowel of *bit* and that of *bet*, with the former more common. The final consonant is occasionally affricated, giving pronunciations of the type *rinch*, *rench*, in middle-class speech.

Forehead commonly has secondary or tertiary stress on the second syllable, with the /h/ pronounced.

Grammar

In grammar the speech of the middle-class Chicagoan shows little or no deviation from standard forms. For the lower class, substandard forms are not common in guarded speech; but *drank* as a participle (perhaps avoiding the connotations of the adjective *drunk*), *ourself*, *we done*, occur even there. In guarded speech there is general avoidance of *ain't* and of third-singular *don't*, possibly because these are the best known grammatical shibboleths. *You-all* is not found as a generous plural; the form *youse* -- known to occur in lower-class Chicago white speech -- did not appear in the sample for this study. For all informants *dove* (with /o/) is the normal past tense of *dive*.

Extended accounts of the verb morphology are available in E. Bagby Atwood, *Verb Forms in the Eastern United States*, (Ann Arbor, 1953) and in Virginia McDavid, *Verb Forms in the North-Central States and Upper Midwest*, dissertation (microfilm) University of Minnesota, 1956.

Table I

Primary Phonemes

p	t	k	f	θ	š	ˇš	č
b	d	g	v	ð	ż	ž	ǰ
m	n	ŋ	r	l	j	w	h

i	u
e	o
ɛ	ɔ
a	ɒ

+ j

ij

ej ɔj

aj

+ w

uw, juw 'few'

ow

aw

Secondary Phonemes

Stresses	extra loud, loud, less loud syllabicity for syllabic /l, m, n, ŋ, r/
Pitches	falling, rising-falling, rising, extra high ('distorted'), pitch-continuing

Table II

Examples of Primary and Compound-Primary Phonemes

/pin/ 'pin' /tin/ 'tin' /kɛt/ 'cat'
/big/ 'big' /dig/ 'dig' /giv/ 'give'
/fɛn/ 'fan' /vɛn/ 'van' /θin/ 'thin' /ðen/ 'then'
/sɛd/ 'sad' /zip/ 'zip' /šov/ 'shove'/ruwž/ 'rouge'
/čin/ 'chin' /ǰem/ 'gem'
/mis/ 'miss' /nik/ 'nick' /siŋ/ 'sing'
/red/ 'red' /lɛm/ 'lamb'
/jes/ 'yes' /wɛg/ 'wag' /hɛnd/ 'hand'
/pin/ 'pin' /put/ 'put'
/eg/ 'egg' /op/ 'up'
/ɛd/ 'add' /ɔt/ 'ought'
/ahmz/ 'alms /ad/ 'odd'
/bij/ 'bee /duw/ 'do' /fjuw/ 'few'
/bey/ 'bay' /gow/ 'go'
/baj/ 'buy' /baw/ 'bough' /bɔj'

Phonological Indices of
Social Dialects in Chicago

Lee Pederson

Previous investigations of Chicago speech, as in Pederson, The Pronunciation of English in Chicago: Consonants and Vowels (Diss., University of Chicago, 1964) have suggested the existence of certain dialect cleavages along racial lines. Accordingly, for this project to specify such cleavages, fifty interviews were conducted, thirty with Negroes and twenty with whites, using an adaptation of the Linguistic Atlas questionnaire. In each racial group were ten middle-class informants; there were ten lower-class whites and twenty lower-class Negroes--half of the latter relatively long term residents of Chicago, the other half new arrivals.

Fourteen of the thiry Negro records were collected by John Willis, a graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Chicago. Willis, a Negro himself, did a good job in gaining the confidence of the informants and stimulating the free conversation which perhaps comprises the most valuable data collected. His lack of experience in the field led him to the occasional mistake of neglecting an item because it was hard to elicit. The remaining sixteen records were collected by Lee Pederson. His interviews include a more nearly complete coverage of the questionnaire items, but the free conversation in these records is usually distinctly inferior in richness of form to those collected by Willis. This was mainly because Pederson was not always able to establish what is called rapport.

The Informant: Socio-linguistic classification, Table I. The original plan in this survey was to select 20 Negro informants, 10 of whom were residents of the city for 20 years or more and 10 who were recent arrivals. Of the 20 twenty-year residents, 10 were to be of the middle socio-economic class and 10 were to be of the lower socio-economic class. The problem, of course, is to establish a satisfactory classification of informants in order to indicate sociological distribution. Unsatisfactory classification of informants is one of the serious problems of social dialectology in this decade. The prededent set in the New England Atlas, a distinction of three basic types and two sub-classes--old fashioned and modern--was quite satisfactory for the regional surveys in the 30's and 40's. But the sociological implications of Mrs. Frank's analysis of the Lowman records in New York in 1949 and David DeCamp's study of San Francisco Speech, 1955, suggest the need for further classification. A readily available scale for this kind of investigation appears in W. Lloyd Warner's Social Classes in America. This was used with no great success in The Pronunciation of English in Chicago: Consonants and Vowels. This classification was treated there as secondary, and primary attention was given instead to educational types. This was simply an analysis of the tripartite division of the New England Atlas into 10 groups in order to distinguish the extent of academic innoculation, a problem of mass college education growing up with the post World War II era. These scales of ranking were unsatisfactory for social dialectology for obvious reasons. The New England Atlas did not undertake an analysis of social class and W. Lloyd Warner did not include linguistic problems in his analyses. A somewhat more suitable scale has been adopted here: a socio-linguistic classification, contrived for the present investigation. The seven categories include those factors which seem linguistically significant in the Negro sub-culture. These are: 1) place for birth and years in Chicago (full weight)--each full weight item is 10 points and the one half point item is 5 points on a 65 point scale. Education, on the 10 point scale is a little more reliable. 1) a graduate of an integrated college, 2) a student at an integrated college, 3) a graduate of a segregated college, 4) a student at a segregated college, 5) a graduate of an integrated high school, 6) a student at an integrated high school, 7) a graduate of a segregated high school and 8) a student at a segregated high school, 9) an elementary school graduate and 10) an elementary school student. For example, informant 1-1, that is the highest ranked on the table has a total of 17 points, he has 5 points for place of birth; he is Midland born, 20 years in Chicago. Next, Education: he has 3 points; he is a graduate of a segregated college. His job: he has one point, he is in an integrated profession; he is a social worker, and on my scale a social worker is ranked as high as a lawyer or a doctor, especially in terms of linguistics and morality. Parents' place of birth: he has 4 points there; his parents were born in the Midland. Parents' education: 1 of 10 because his father was an Episcopal priest. Parents' occupation: 1, he was a priest. Housing, 3 of 10. So 1-1 is classified group A. Conversely, informant 1-3 who had a better education in attending the John Marshall Law School and having lived as many years in Chicago, is ranked lower because his parents were not educated in integrated colleges and were not professionals and because he himself practices law almost exclusively within the Negro community. His socio-linguistic total is 35. It should be noted that the A to G classifications are established from these totals: A) 7-23 highest socio-linguistic group B) 24-30 high socio-linguistic group C) 31-37 High-Mid socio-linguistic group D) 39-45 Mid socio-linguistic group E) 47-52 Low-Mid or High-Low socio-linguistic group F) 53-60 Low socio-linguistic group G) 61-65 Lowest socio-linguistic group.

Distribution: The phonological and morphological features considered here include those which in previous linguistic surveys of metropolitan Chicago showed a clear pattern of distribution on the basis of race, education, age or socio-economic type and those features which are regionally or socially distributed in the North, the Midland and the South. Neither syntactic structures nor suprasegmental phonemic patterns are included here because the most interesting evi-

dence seems to be in the free conversations; phonetic, phonemic and morphemic items are given with their variants. The main concern, of course, is with the differences between Negro and Caucasian speech. For that reason in the tables, x or X always indicates the dominant form in the speech of native Caucasian Chicagoans, high school graduates of the middle-age group, 30-50 years old and the central socio-economic class. The symbol Ø and ø in the tables indicate forms which are not typical of the speech of the Caucasian type mentioned above. Distribution based separately on age, region or sex is not always given here because these factors too often overlap the criteria used to establish socio-linguistic types. For example, 9 of 10 recent arrivals are between ages 27 and 45; 6 of these are of Mississippi ancestry and 8 of the 10 recent arrivals are females.
Three allophones of the post vocalic /r/ (often phonetically schwa) are distinguished here. 1) strong constriction, 2) weak constriction and 3) no constriction.

Table 2 shows a distinction between unrounded and rounded vowels, because rounding versus unrounding seems to affect distribution. A much lower incidence of constriction occurs after rounded stressed vowels in the speech of members of all regional, social and age goups. Among members of Group I, Types A to C, only two informants, 3 and 5, have a high incidence, that is, more than half the occurrences of the weak or unconstricted phoneme after unrounded vowels. Both informants are over age 55 and neither is closely associated with the Caucasian community. The single exception among Group II, Types A to C, is the young social worker who had been in Chicago only two years. All members of Type B have lived in Chicago for 20 years or more and none of these has a high frequency of this recessive feature. Twelve of the seventeen members of Types E to G favor the recessive feature. These include 7 of 10 members of Group I, 5 of 7 members of Group II. From Group I, all three exceptions are within 6 sociolinguistic points of Type D, that is 1-11, 1-13, and 1-14. Both exceptions in Group II are within 9 points of Type D, 2-4 and 2-5. Before rounded vowels, 5 members of Group I have a high frequency of the recessive feature, these are the 1-2, 1-3,1-5, 1-7 and 1-10. Eight of 10 members of Group II favor the recessive feature. The exceptions again are the highly ranked 2-2 and 2-4.

Table 3, initial members of the /aI/ diphthong. Seventeen allophones occur as initial members of the up-gliding diphthong. These are distinguished by position--front to mid; by duration--unlengthened to extremely lengthened; and nasalization--strong nasalization versus weak or none. These allophones are classified in Table 3 only on the basis of position. That is the low-mid vowels typical of Chicago Caucasian speech, the fronted low-mid vowels or the retracted low-front vowels, and the low-front vowels. Both fronted variants, marked o and ø on the Table, occur most frequently among lower ranked Types E to G. Of the 20 informants ranked E to G, only 2 have a preponderance of the low-mid vowels.

Both of these speakers, 1-13 and 1-15, received their full formal education in Chicago.

Table 4, phones of the mid-central vowel. The raw phonetic material is given in Table 4. There is one certain feature of distribution. A Mid-Central monophthong is clearly dominant in Caucasian speech in this city. Among the Negroes interviewed, however, diphthongization is common, absent in only four speakers. All four of these are of Group I, twenty-year residents of the city, and three of these are locally educated. However insignificant from a phonemic standpoint, this diphthong is an unmistakenly foreign sound to native Chicago Caucasians and is one of the features mentioned by informant 1-1 who talked for some time about the Chicago Negro and his southern accent.

Table 5, Consonant Loss. Eighteen consonant phonemes are charted here. Each of these is lost in the speech of some informants and none of these is usually lost in Caucasian speech except in the very old or uneducated members of low socio-economic groups. Two composite types of phonemes have social significance here. These are certain phonemes which include phonic members characterized by voicing and stoppage of the air stream which occur in syllable initial position. The /d/ phoneme in hundred, the /d/ phoneme in candle and the /d/ alternating with /t/ in vegetable and the /b/ phoneme in umbrella. All of these occur in the second syllable of the word and are retained by all members of Group I, Types A to D, with 2 exceptions. Both of these informants, 1-5 and 1-6, are over age 55 and neither is a native of Chicago. Similar incidences are loss of the syllable initial /h/ in forehead and /j/ in yeast. Three members of Group I, Types A to D, lose these consonants and like 1-5 and 1-6, informant 1-9 is also over age 55 and not a native of Chicago. Among other forms in this table the incidence is as expected. Members of Groups I and II, of lower socio-linguistic types, have a higher frequency of consonant loss than do the higher ranked informants. It should be noted in passing that the item S in this table, the /w/ in Louisiana, is obviously a syllable loss. The evidence of the four syllable utterance rather than the usual five syllable is quite atypical in Chicago Caucasian speech.

Table 6, Incidence of consonant phonemes. Four groups of consonant phonemes are classified in this table. The occurrence of the voiced spirant in grease and greasy, alternation of the stop with the fricative in--this year/ dis year--this way/dis way, and the alternation of the labiodental fricative with the interdental fricative in--with/wif--without/wifout--mouth/mouf, etc. The incidence of relic and assimilated form appears in rinses/rinches--chimney/chimbly and Birmingham/Birningham. In greasy there is clearly a higher incidence of /z/ among native Chicago Negroes than among Midland or Southern born immigrants. Here indeed seems to be the first clear feature of the up-south Negro dialect. The current investigation shows Chicago born Negroes having 7 /z/ and 5 /s/, Midland 10 /z/ and 8 /s/, Southern born 14 /z/ and 11 /s/. The factor to be considered here is that all informants were to be over age 30 in the current survey. In a previous investigation, the high school age native Negroes were introduced and this powerfully influential group showed 17 instances of /z/ to 7 /s/. All of those were natives of Chicago.

The incidence of dental stops for interdental fricatives appears much less frequently in the Tables. However, it must be remembered that the questionnaire responses are perhaps more careful than free conversation where there seems to be a higher frequency in the tapes. Almost every informant, Type E to G, has at least one occurrence of the dental stop for dental fricative. The alternation of labiodental fricative /f/ for usual interdental voiceless or voiced fricatives must also be analyzed in free conversation. But it seems to be less frequent in Chicago Negro speech than in Washington, D.C., speech as reported by Stewart. The fourth group of forms (M, N, O, in the Table) have the highest frequency among older informants of all types and to somewhat lesser extent among lower socio-linguistic types. This combination of factors--older age and lower socio-linguistic types--accounts for the higher frequency of these recessive forms among members of Group I. Eleven members of that Group have at least 2 of 3 instances and nine of these are over age 40. Seven of eleven, however, are Types E to G. Both informants under age 40 are of Type D, the bottom on the non-low section with 44 points. Both members of Group II with two or more occurrences of these forms are Types G, with a maximum total of 65 socio-linguistic points.

Table 7, Systematic alternation of stressed vowels. The incidence of vowels charted in this Table are of three types: 1) Those alternating the vowels of bet and bat before heterosyllabic /r/--items A to D. 2) Those alternating the vowels of low and law before tautosyllabic /r/--items E to F. 3) Those alternating the vowels of cot and law through the development of Middle English vowels--items G to P.

The phonemic distribution of the vowels of low and law in items E and F is a recessive feature in Caucasian speech in northeastern Illinois with the highest incidence shared by well-educated urban and suburban informants and old-rural informants living in the out-counties. The /aV/ diphthong was not recorded in items N, O, P in Caucasian speech. Items A to F are best distributed on the basis of regional dialect. Items G to J when restricted to a large number of Negro speakers show a development which parallels incidence among Caucasians insofar as the more highly educated informants have the unrounded vowel.

Table 8, Non-systematic alternation of vowels. The vowels in this table are distinguished as stressed and weakly stressed because the distribution within each set is somewhat different. Among the stressed vowels, the occurrence of /i/ in deaf agrees with the observation of Kurath and McDavid concerning this alternation in the Atlantic states. Incidence of the recessive form is highest among the lower social classes, but the feature is also found among natives of the deep South and South Midland areas. Informants 1, 4, 7 and 10 have parents from these areas. Informants 1, 18 and 20 are ranked F and G. Group II, informants 4, 9 and 10 are all natives of the deep South. In Caucasian Chicago speech, this form occurs only among members of the lowest socio-economic group. The incidence of the vowel of cut in ruther occurs in 7 of 8 instances among members of Type F to G, five of whom are of Group I. The occurrence of the vowel of bet in rether corresponds roughly with the Kurath-McDavid observations that it is restricted to the speech of the folk and middle groups. The most clearly distinctive feature in Chicago Negro speech is the occurrence of the "broad a" in aunt. The "flat a" occurred only 17 times in these contexts and never among members of Types A and B. The remaining items D to G are pretty well restricted to Types D to G of both Groups with the highest frequency among Types F and G. Similar distribution is found among the recessive forms of the weakly stressed vowels in this Table. The notable exceptions occur under items K to O among members of Group I, Types A to D who have a rather high frequency of recessive forms, 19 of 49. Conversely, among the top three members of Group II, there is but 1 of 15 instances.

Table 9, Lexical differences. The paucity of lexical variants which have sociological distribution is simple to explain: the findings in Table 9 include the first data of the Chicago lexicon to have been analyzed. This is not to suggest that important information is not to be found in Chicago studies done so far, but this brief review does suggest that a more productive set of items should be obtained. Two areas of lexicon which should certainly be explored are: 1) Southernisms vs. Northern urbanisms, 2) In-group Negro Slang.

The recessive items in Table 9 are predominately relics of Southern speech. Items G and J "stomp" and "skaird" have the highest frequency of occurrence in these forms and along with /anti/ are the only recessive items which are not clearly old-fashioned. The over-all pattern of distribution shows all informants under age 40 with a high incidence of recessive forms; those informants are Types D to G, 1-8, 1-10, 2-8 and 2-10. All others having this high occurrence of recessive features are older and of Types E to G. These include 1-11, 1-14, 1-16, 1-17, 1-18, 1-19 and 1-20, and 2-9, seven of whom are Types F and G. Concerning specific items several observations can be made. Although the incidence of *kerosene* is about the same in both groups, the incidence of *coal oil* is higher in Group II, occurring in 8 of 10 instances, in the speech of all Southern informants, Types E to F. Among the five members of Group I, Types C and D having *coal oil*, four are over age 55. Perhaps the best social indicator in the table is Item H with variants *standout*, *stick out* and *buffle out*, occurring only in the speech of informants Types F and G.

Table 10, Verb forms. Standard verb forms in America are more important social indicators than standard pronunciation, contrary to the apparent situation in England. The items in Table 10 corroborate this. In six items, that is Item B, Item C, Item G, Item J and Item K and Item O, there is not a single instance of the standard verb form among Group I members, Types F and G. That is 36 of 36 instances of non-standard verb forms with the exception of A and F; all other verb forms on the table show a preponderance of non-standard forms in the speech of these seven informants. Among the new arrivals, the incidence of standard forms is much higher among Types F to G, that is informants 2, 5 to 10 than the members of Group I. This is probably explained by the fact that the median grade level of education in Types F to G of Group I, is about 7th grade, 7.4, and of Group II, it is 10.6. The other factor, of course, is the system of ranking which penalizes outlanders. A conclusion here might suggest that general education seems to be doing pretty much the same job in the segregated North and the segregated South.

Table 1

TABLE OF INFORMANTS

20-Year Residents of Chicago

No.	S[1]	A[2]	N[3]	E[4]	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y[5]	Type[6]
1.	M	39	69	BS	Lawrenceville, Virginia	Virginia	Virginia	Social Worker	20	A17
2.	M	31	68	BS	Chicago, Illinois	Arkansas (rural)	Louisiana (rural)	Social Worker	31	B30
3.	M	57	40	JD	Humboldt, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Lawyer	21	C32
4.	F	31	42	BA	Omaha, Nebraska	Alabama	Alabama	Restaurant Manager	28	C33
5.	F	67	68	13	Little Rock, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Minister	35	C33
6.	M	57	38	12	Harrisburg, Illinois	Illinois (rural)	Illinois (rural)	Electrician	40	D39
7.	M	60	39	10	Chicago, Illinois	Louisiana	Tennessee	Clerk	60	D41
8.	F	30	30	10	Chicago Illinois	Louisiana	Kentucky	Clerk	30	D44
9.	M	55	67	12	Sherman, Texas	Oklahoma	Texas	Cook	28	D44
10.	M	31	44	12	Chicago, Illinois	Mississippi	Mississippi	Janitor	22	D44
11.	F	46	69	10	Charleston, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Housewife	25	E47

[1] Sex

[2] Age

[3] Neighborhood Community

[4] Education

[5] Years in Chicago

[6] Socio-Linguistic Type

TABLE I (Continued)

No.	S	A	N	E	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y	Type
12.	F	42	42	9	Chicago, Illinois	Louisiana	Louisiana	Housewife	42	E47
13.	F	42	68	10	Chicago, Illinois	Jamaica	Jamaica	Housewife	37	E49
14.	M	67	42	8	Atlanta, Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	Porter	44	F53
15.	F	27	42	10	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Housewife	21	F54
16.	F	46	67	8	Marvell, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Housewife	20	F54
17.	F	50	67	7	Marvell, Arkansas	Unknown	Unknown	Housewife	24	F55
18.	M	56	54	4	Memphis, Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee	Laborer	20	F56
19.	M	40	--	6	Tuscaloosa, Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	Laborer	23	F60
20.	M	47	39	9	Baton Rouge, Louisiana	Louisiana	Louisiana	Watchman	25	G61

RECENT ARRIVALS

No.	S	A	N	E	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y	Type
1.	F	48	73	BA	Jacksonville, Florida	Florida	Florida	Housewife	12	A21
2.	F	43	49	BA	Los Angeles, California	Dallas, Texas	Pittsburgh Pennsylvania	Housewife	11	B25
3.	M	32	35	BS	West, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Social Worker	2	C35
4.	M	45	42	11	Memphis, Tennessee	Mississippi	Mississippi	Janitor	17	E52
5.	F	42	29	12	Marigold, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Clerk	1	F56
6.	F	35	--	9	Hattiesburg, Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi	Housewife	1	F57

TABLE 1 (Continued)

No.	S	A	N	E	Place of Birth	Mother's POB	Father's POB	Occupation	Y	Type
7.	F	35	42	10	Montgomery, Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	Housewife	4	F58
8.	F	36	42	10	Lexington, Mississippi	Missis-sippi	Missis-sippi	Waitress	8	F59
9.	F	45	40	5	LaGrange, Georgia	Georgia	Georgia	Housewife	7	G65
10.	F	27	42	7	Macon, Mississippi	Missis-sippi	Missis-sippi	Housewife	7	G65

TABLE 2

TAUTOSYLLABIC /r/ AFTER STRESSED VOWELS

x is strong constriction

ø is weak constriction

o is no constriction

- is no response

Unrounded Vowels

- A. beard
- B. careless
- C. chair
- D. thirteen
- E. furniture
- F. Birmingham

Rounded Vowels

- G. four
- H. fourth
- J. morning (in good morning)
- K. mourning
- L. horse
- M. hoarse

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	ø	x	x
2.	x	x	ø	x	x	ø	o	o	ø	o	o	o
3.	ø	ø	o	ø	o	o	o	o	o	-	ø	o
4.	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
5.	o	o	ø	x	ø	-	ø	o	x	o	x	o
6.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x
7.	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
8.	x	x	x	x	o	ø	x	x	x	o	x	x
9.	x	ø	x	x	ø	x	x	o	x	x	x	o
10.	x	x	x	x	x	ø	o	o	o	o	o	o
11.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
12.	x	ø	ø	-	ø	ø	ø	o	ø	o	o	o
13.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	ø	x	o	x
14.	x	x	o	x	x	x	ø	ø	o	o	x	ø
15.	x	o	o	ø	o	ø	o	o	o	o	-	o
16.	o	x	x	ø	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	ø
17.	x	o	o	ø	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
18.	x	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	o	o	o	o	ø	o
19.	x	o	x	-	o	x	-	-	o	-	o	ø
20.	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	-	o	o

TABLE 2 (Continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	ø	ø	x	-	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
3.	ø	ø	x	ø	x	o	o	o	o	o	ø	o
4.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x
5.	x	o	x	ø	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
6.	ø	ø	o	x	ø	x	o	o	o	o	ø	ø
7.	ø	o	ø	x	ø	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
8.	o	o	o	o	ø	o	o	ø	o	o	o	x
9.	o	o	o	ø	o	o	o	ø	x	o	o	o
10.	o	-	o	o	-	ø	o	o	o	-	o	o

TABLE 3

PHONES OF THE FIRST MEMBER OF THE /aI/ DIPHTHONG

x is low-central

ø is advanced low-central or retracted low-front

o is low-front

* is an alternate phoneme

- is no response

A. five

B. nine

C. twice

D. dining (in dining room)

E. China (dishes or the People's Republic)

F. spider (in spider web)

G. wife

H. right (in right ear)

J. tired

K. climbed

L. might

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.
1.	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	ø	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x
4.	o	x	x	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	x	-	ø
5.	ø	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	-
6.	o	ø	ø	-	ø	ø	ø	ø	-	ø	ø
7.	ø	x	x	-	x	ø	x	x	x	ø	x
8.	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x
9.	o	ø	o	ø	o	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x
10.	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	*	ø	ø	x

*10 is the vowel of father

TABLE 3 (Continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.
11.	ø	ø	ø	ø	o	ø	ø	-	ø	ø	ø
12.	o	o	ø	-	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
13.	x	x	x	x	x	ø	x	x	-	x	x
14.	o	o	o	-	o	o	ø	ø	ø	*	ø
15.	ø	ø	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	*	-
16.	o	o	o	ø	o	ø	o	o	o	*	o
17.	o	ø	o	x	ø	o	o	o	o	*	o
18.	o	o	ø	ø	o	ø	ø	-	ø	o	ø
19.	-	-	o	-	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø
20.	ø	o	ø	-	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	-	ø

*14 is the vowel of cut; *15, *16, *17 is the vowel of cat

1.	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x	-	x	x	x	x
2.	ø	ø	x	ø	x	ø	ø	x	x	-	-
3.	ø	ø	x	ø	o	ø	ø	x	x	x	x
4.	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	x	ø	x	x	x
5.	o	ø	ø	ø	o	o	o	o	ø	o	-
6.	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	x	ø	ø	ø	ø
7.	ø	ø	ø	-	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø
8.	o	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	ø	ø	o	ø
9.	ø	ø	ø	x	x	x	ø	x	x	*	ø
10.	ø	ø	-	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	ø	-

*9 is the vowel of father

TABLE 4

PHONES OF THE VOWEL OF CUT INCLUDING ALTERNATE VOWEL OF BET AND SIMULTANEOUS r-COLORING

X is lax central or mid-back unrounded vowel

x is tense central vowel

O is centering offglide

ø is highfront offglide

Ø is highback offglide

/ is the vowel of bet

Z is highback vowel

R is constricted vowel

- is no response

A. shut (in shut the door)

B. brush (noun)

C. touch (in don't touch)

D. onions (stressed vowel)

E. husband (stressed vowel)

F. son

G. judge (noun)

H. pus

J. nothing (response to What's new?)

K. something (response to nothing)

L. hundred (stressed vowel)

M. once (in at once)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	X	X	X	X	X	X	x	X	X	X	X	X
2.	X	X	-	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	Z	X	X	X	X
3.	X	x	ø	Ø	ø	ø	Ø	ø	-	ø	ø	ø
4.	x	x	X	X	Ø	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5.	X	O	ø	X	Ø	X	Ø	ø	X	X	X	X
6.	/	/	ø	Ø	-	O	/	-	O	O	X	O
7.	x	X	x	ø	ø	ø	ø	ø	x	x	X	X
8.	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
9.	ø	/	ø	ø	Ø	ø	x	Ø	ø	Ø	ø	ø
10.	X	/	O	Ø	ø	-	/	X	ø	Ø	X	Ø
11.	-	R	O	O	O	O	Ø	Ø	-	O	X	Ø
12.	X	x	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
13.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14.	x	Ø	X	Ø	X	X	x	x	X	-	X	O
15.	X	X	-	X	Ø	X	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	X	-
16.	/	R	Ø	Ø	Ø	ø	R	Ø	Ø	X	X	X
17.	/	/	O	Ø	Ø	Ø	R	Ø	X	X	X	X
18.	O	R	X	Ø	Ø	Ø	-	O	-	ø	Ø	O
19.	O	x	X	X	X	X	R	X	-	-	-	-
20.	/	x	x	Ø	ø	Ø	R	X	X	X	X	O

TABLE 4 (Continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.
1.	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	-	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	O
2.	O	X	O	O	O	O	X	Ø	O	X	X	Ø
3.	X	X	X	Ø	Ø	X	Ø	X	X	X	X	X
4.	O	X	X	Ø	X	O	Ø	O	-	X	O	Ø
5.	X	X	X	Ø	X	Ø	O	Ø	X	X	X	X
6.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	Ø
7.	X	Ø	Ø	X	Ø	R	Ø	X	X	X	X	X
8.	Z	O	X	X	O	O	Ø	X	O	-	O	O
9.	Ø	/	X	Ø	O	Ø	X	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	Ø
10.	Ø	Ø	Ø	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	O	-

TABLE 5

CONSONANT LOSS

x is consonant retained

o is consonant lost

ø is alternate consonant (/t/ in ninth)

- is no response

A. /l/ in help
B. /t d/ in vegetables
C. /h/ in forehead
D. /d t/ in hundred
E. /d/ in good (morning)
F. /b/ in umbrella
G. /b/ in tube
H. /t/ in chest
J. /t/ in left-overs
K. /θ/ in fifth
L. /θ/ in ninth
M. /t/ in joints
N. /g/ in bag
O. /j/ in yeast
P. /t/ in yeast
Q. /t/ in caught
R. /d/ in candles
S. /w/ in Louisiana

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.	S.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3.	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	o
4.	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5.	-	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	-	o	o	x	x	o	x	-	o	o
6.	-	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	ø	o	o	o	x	-	x	o
7.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	-	x	o
8.	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
9.	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	-	x	o
10.	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x
11.	x	-	x	x	x	o	x	o	-	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x
12.	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	o

TABLE 5 (Continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.	S.
13.	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o
14.	-	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	-	x	x	o	x	o	x	-	o	o
15.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	-	o	o
16.	o	x	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	-	x	o	o	o	x	o
17.	-	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o
18.	-	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o
19.	o	x	x	-	x	o	x	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	x	o	o	o
20.	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	ø	x	x	o	x	-	o	o
1.	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	-	x	-	x	x	-	x	o
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	-	x	x	x	o	o	x	x
3.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
4.	o	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	o	x	x	o	o	-
5.	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	o
6.	-	-	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	o
7.	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
8.	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o
9.	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	-	o
10.	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o

TABLE 6

INCIDENCE OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

A. February x is /b/ o is /v/ * is consonant loss
B. February x is /br/ o is /bj/ * is consonant loss
C. grease x is /s/ o is /z/
D. greasy x is /s/ o is /z/
E. this (year) x is /ð/ o is /d/
F. this (way) x is /ð/ o is /d/
G. wash (the dishes) x is /ð/ o is /d/ * is consonant loss
H. with (milk) x is /θ/ or /d̪/ o is /f/ ø is /d/
J. without (milk) x is /θ/ or /d̪/ o is /f/ ø is /d/
K. mouth x is /θ/ o is /f/
L. fourth x is /θ/ o is /f/
M. rinses x is /s/ o is /s̬/
N. chimney x is /n/ o is /l/
O. Birmingham x is /m/ (Birm-) o is /n/ (Birn-)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
3.	x	o	x	o	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4.	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
5.	o	*	o	o	x	*	-	x	x	x	x	o	o	-
6.	x	x	x	x	x	*	-	x	x	x	o	o	o	x
7.	x	o	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8.	x	*	o	o	x	o	o	x	ø	x	o	o	o	o
9.	x	o	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
10.	*	o	o	o	x	*	-	x	x	o	x	o	o	x
11.	x	*	o	o	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
12.	x	o	o	o	x	*	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o
13.	x	x	x	x	x	*	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
14.	x	*	o	o	x	o	-	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
15.	x	*	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
16.	o	*	o	o	x	*	-	x	ø	o	x	o	o	x
17.	x	o	o	o	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o
18.	o	o	x	o	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x
19.	x	o	o	o	x	-	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
20.	o	*	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	o	o
1.	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2.	x	*	o	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
3.	-	-	x	o	x	o	x	ø	x	x	x	-	o	x
4.	x	o	x	o	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
5.	x	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6.	x	o	x	o	x	o	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7.	o	*	o	o	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
8.	x	*	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
9.	x	*	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	-	o	o	o	o
10.	o	o	o	x	o	-	o	-	ø	x	o	o	x	o

TABLE 7

SYSTEMATIC ALTERNATION OF STRESSED VOWELS

A. dairy X = Vo* bet o = Vo bat ø = Vo bait
B. married X = Vo bet o = Vo bat ø = Vo bait
C. kerosene X = Vo bet o = Vo bat ø = Vo bait
D. parents X = Vo bet o = Vo bat
E. hoarse X = Vo law o = Vo low
F. mourning X = Vo law o = Vo low

G. tomorrow X = Vo father o = Vo law
H. borrow X = Vo father o = Vo law
J. palm X = Vo father o = Vo law ø = Vo bat
K. wash (noun) X = Vo law o = Vo father
L. wash (verb) X = Vo law o = Vo father
M. water (noun) X = Vo law o = Vo father ø = Vo cow
O. laundry X = Vo law o = Vo father ø = Vo cow
P. haunted X = Vo law o = Vo father ø = Vo cow ø = Vo bat

No.No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	I.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.
1.	X	o	X	o	o	o	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2.	o	o	ø	o	o	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	o
3.	ø	o	-	o	o	-	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	o	ø
4.	X	o	X	o	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	X	X
5.	-	o	o	X	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	o	-
6.	X	o	X	o	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	o
7.	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	o
8.	X	o	X	o	X	o	X	X	X	X	o	X	o	o	o
9.	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	o	X	-	X	X	X	X	o
10.	X	o	-	X	o	X	X	X	X	o	o	-	ø	o	ø
11.	X	X	X	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	o
12.	X	-	o	o	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	X	X	o	o
13.	X	X	X	o	X	X	o	o	X	X	X	X	o	o	o
14.	X	ø	X	o	X	o	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X
15.	o	o	-	X	o	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	o	-
16.	X	o	X	o	o	o	X	X	X	o	o	X	o	X	o
17.	o	-	-	o	o	o	X	X	ø	X	X	o	-	o	X
18.	X	-	X	o	o	o	o	o	X	X	X	X	o	o	o
19.	X	o	o	-	o	-	X	o	o	o	o	X	-	o	X
20.	-	o	-	o	o	-	X	o	X	o	o	X	ø	o	ø
1.	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	o
2.	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	o	X	X	X	o	o	o	o
3.	o	o	X	o	o	o	X	o	X	X	o	X	o	ø	X
4.	ø	o	X	o	X	o	o	o	X	X	o	-	X	o	ø
5.	X	o	X	o	o	o	X	X	X	o	o	X	o	o	o
6.	X	-	o	o	o	o	X	o	X	o	o	-	o	o	X
7.	o	o	ø	o	o	o	X	X	X	X	o	o	o	o	X
8.	X	o	X	-	o	o	X	X	X	o	o	o	o	X	o
9.	ø	o	-	o	o	X	X	X	ø	o	o	X	o	o	ø
10.	o	o	o	o	o	-	X	o	ø	o	X	X	o	o	-

* Vo is vowel of

TABLE 8

NONSYSTEMATIC ALTERNATION OF VOWELS

A. deaf X = Vo* bet o = Vo beat ø is both
B. rather X = Vo bat o = Vo cut ø = Vo bet
C. aunt X = Vo bat o = Vo father ø is both
D. shut X = Vo cut o = Vo bet ø = Vo put
E. brush (noun) X = Vo cut o = Vo bet
F. soot X = Vo put o = Vo cut
G. roof X = Vo put o = Vo boot

H. window (2nd syllable) X = Vo low o = Vo cut
J. widow (2nd syllable) X = Vo low o = Vo cut
K. yellow (2nd syllable) X = Vo low o = Vo cut ø = Vo boot
L. tomorrow (3rd syllable) X = Vo low o = Vo cut ø = Vo boot
M. tomato (3rd syllable) X = Vo low o = Vo cut ø = Vo bit
N. Saturday (2nd syllable) X = Vo cut o = Vo bit
O. genuine (3rd syllable) X = Vo cut o = Do* my

	Stressed Vowels							Weakly Stressed Vowels						
No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	X	ø	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	o	X
2.	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o
3.	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	o	X	o	ø	X	o	X
4.	ø	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o
5.	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	-	X	o	o	o	X	-
6.	X	X	o	o	o	X	X	X	X	o	X	o	X	o
7.	o	X	o	X	X	X	X	-	X	o	X	X	o	X
8.	X	ø	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	o
9.	X	-	o	X	o	X	X	X	o	-	o	X	o	o
10.	o	o	ø	o	o	o	X	o	-	o	o	o	X	X
11.	X	X	X	-	X	X	-	X	o	o	X	ø	o	o
12.	X	ø	o	X	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	o	X	o
13.	X	X	o	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14.	X	ø	o	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	-	o	o	o
15.	X	-	o	X	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	o	o	-
16.	x	o	o	o	X	o	-	-	o	ø	o	o	o	X
17.	X	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	X	X
18.	o	o	X	X	X	o	o	o	X	o	o	o	X	o
19.	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	o	X	o	o	o	X	o
20.	o	o	o	o	X	o	o	o	X	o	X	o	o	X
1.	X	-	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2.	X	X	o	X	X	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3.	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	X	X	o	X	X	X	X
4.	ø	-	o	X	X	X	X	X	X	o	X	ø	X	o
5.	X	X	o	o	X	o	X	X	X	o	o	o	X	o
6.	X	o	X	X	X	X	o	X	o	o	o	o	o	X

* Vo is vowel of * Do is diphthong of

TABLE 8 (continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
7.	X	X	o	X	o	o	X	X	X	o	o	o	o	o
8.	X	X	o	ø	X	o	X	o	o	o	o	o	o	X
9.	ø	o	o	X	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	X	o
10.	o	-	X	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-

TABLE 9

LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

A.	x is faucet (at the sink)	o is hydrant, pipe or spigot	
B.	x is kerosene	o is coal oil	ø is both
C.	x is yolk (of the egg)	o is yellow (of the egg)	
D.	x is cobweb (indoors)	o is spiderweb (indoors)	
E.	x is chest (of a man)	o is breast (of a man)	
F.	x is got sick, got ill, or was sick	o is took sick or took ill	ø is came ill
G.	x is stamp (on the floor)	o is stomp	
H.	x is bulge	o is stand out, stick out, or buffle out	
J.	x is afraid	o is scared	ø is afeared or ascared
K.	x is aunt	o is aunty	ø is both

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.
1.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
3.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
4.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x
5.	x	ø	o	o	o	-	x	x	x	x
6.	x	ø	x	x	x	ø	o	x	o	x
7.	x	x	o	x	x	-	o	x	o	ø
8.	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
9.	x	ø	-	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
10.	x	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
11.	x	ø	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
12.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	ø
13.	x	ø	x	o	x	o	x	x	o	x
14.	o	x	o	o	o	-	o	x	o	x
15.	x	-	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	o
16.	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x
17.	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	x
18.	x	ø	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	ø
19.	o	ø	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x
20.	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o
1.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	ø
2.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
3.	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
4.	x	ø	x	x	x	-	o	x	ø	x
5.	x	ø	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x
6.	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
7.	x	ø	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8.	x	ø	o	x	x	-	o	-	o	x
9.	x	o	x	o	o	-	o	o	o	x
10.	x	ø	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o

TABLE 10

VERB FORMS

Past Tense

A. drive	x is drove	o is drive	ø is driv	Ø is drived
B. sit	x is sat	o is sit	ø is set	
C. swim	x is swam	o is swim	ø is swum	Ø is swimmed
D. begin	x is began	o is begin	ø is begun	
E. dive	x is dived X is dove	o is dive		Ø is divd
F. kneel	x is kneeled X is knelt	o is kneel		
G. climb	x is climbed	o is climb	ø is clum	
H. eat	x is ate	o is eat		

Past Participle

J. drown	x is drowned	o is drown		Ø is drownded
K. bite	x is bitten		ø is bit	
L. eat	x is eaten	o is eat	ø is ate	Ø is et
M. write	x is written		ø is wrote	Ø is wrotten
N. drink	x is drunk X is drank	o is drink	ø is drinken	Ø is drinkt
O. do	x is done		ø is did	

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	X	x
2.	x	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	ø	x	x	X	x
3.	-	x	-	-	o	-	-	x	Ø	ø	x	x	-	-
4.	ø	x	ø	ø	X	X	-	x	x	x	x	o	Ø	-
5.	x	ø	x	x	-	X	x	x	o	ø	ø	o	X	ø
6.	x	ø	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	ø	-	o	-	ø
7.	x	x	ø	x	X	x	o	-	Ø	x	-	ø	X	ø
8.	x	x	o	x	X	x	x	x	Ø	x	x	ø	x	x
9.	x	x	x	x	X	-	o	x	x	ø	x	x	-	-
10.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	ø	-	ø	Ø	-
11.	x	-	x	o	X	x	-	x	Ø	x	x	ø	o	ø
12.	x	ø	ø	x	o	x	x	x	o	ø	x	ø	ø	x
13.	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	x	x	ø	x	o	-
14.	x	ø	o	x	X	X	ø	x	Ø	ø	ø	x	X	ø
15.	x	ø	o	ø	-	-	o	-	Ø	ø	ø	-	Ø	-
16.	x	ø	o	x	-	o	o	o	Ø	ø	Ø	ø	o	ø
17.	x	ø	o	-	o	X	-	-	Ø	ø	o	ø	Ø	ø
18.	x	ø	o	-	o	X	-	-	Ø	ø	x	x	ø	ø
19.	Ø	ø	o	x	x	x	o	-	Ø	-	-	ø	o	ø
20.	x	ø	o	o	o	x	-	x	Ø	ø	ø	ø	Ø	-

TABLE 10 (Continued)

No.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
1.	-	ø	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
2.	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	-
3.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	ø	x
4.	x	o	ø	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	ø	x	-	ø
5.	x	x	x	x	x	X	o	x	x	x	x	x	X	x
6.	x	-	x	-	ø	o	x	x	-	ø	-	x	o	-
7.	x	ø	o	ø	X	-	x	x	ø	x	x	x	o	x
8.	x	ø	o	x	x	x	x	x	ø	x	-	-	o	ø
9.	o	o	ø	-	o	x	o	x	o	ø	ø	ø	-	-
10.	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	ø	o	ø	x	ø

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PARALANGUAGE

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The term *paralanguage* and the corresponding adjective *paralinguistic* are less than ten years old but already they loom large in the study of animal communication. In one sense all non-language communications (kinesics, haptics, as well as "vocalization") is paralinguistic but this term is now almost exclusively applied to significant, non-linguistic noises made with the vocal tract. Observations of these phenomena are of course quite old. Demosthenes undoubtedly studied "delivery" and "tone of voice". There are pre-Christian statements on phonology also, but no systematic study of that subject antedates that of Grimm in 1819 and that was a lucky forerunner. Actual investigation of phonology as structure, as patterns in a system began with Ferdinand De Saussure late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century. The first systematic study of paralanguage was by Henry Lee Smith, Jr. in a paper called "The Communication Situation," mimeographed for the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State in 1950. This was later expanded into "An Outline of Metalinguistic Analysis" in the 1952 Georgetown Round Table Conference on Linguistics and Language Study. Smith did not use the term *paralanguage*, however, but *vocalization*, subdivided into *vocal qualifiers* and *vocal modifiers*. *Paralanguage* became established with the most complete study to date, the 1958 article by George L. Trager "Paralanguage: A Preliminary Statement." Other writers in the field are Norman A. McQuown and Charles F. Hockett.[1] This study is more systematic than that of Smith and less complex than that of Trager. The infancy of the field, I think, warrants various approaches.

Paralanguage is here defined as significant noises made by the non-articulated vocal tract. By significant I mean that messages occur in a code situation between sender and receiver. The non-articulated vocal tract needs some elaboration. Articulations do occur, but their place and manner tend to be stylistic variants. The two cerebral clicks of little-old-ladies ("tsk-tsk") are vocal segregates, archaic variants of the more usual, evenspaced, nasal noises "hm-hm", or some such graph. Phonological feats are possible on a paralinguistic level that seem impossible on a linguistic one, as the buccal (for horses) and cerebral clicks in English paralanguage as well as pre-glottalized stops and nasals in 'Bye [ʔbae̯], 'Kay [ʔkei̯], 'Night [ʔnae̯t]. An Italian has trouble with /h/ in English and German but no trouble in paralinguistic laughing "ha ha." /x/ is not part of the phonemic system of Eskimos but it is used by them in paralinguistic dog calls. The point need not be further elaborated. There is no articulation qua articulation in paralanguage, or articulation in the linguistic sense.

We now come to the question of the minimal units of paraphonology or, more properly, the paraphonology of American English. There are different paralanguages and paralanguage dialects (one balks at paradialects) but the divergences are probably much fewer than with language. The paralanguage of a European or American film star is pretty well understood throughout those areas.

I. Vocal Qualifiers.

This is an arbitrary term; quantifiers would be more descriptive. There are at least twelve of these in six oppositions. The notation is largely Smith's.

	Degree	Manner
tempo	fast > >	clipped ◡ ◡
	slow < <	drawled ⌒ ⌒
pitch	high ↑ ↑	sing-song ♪ ♪
	low ↓ ↓	flat _ _
intensity	loud ∧ ∧	smooth ∽ ∽
	soft ∨ ∨	jerky ⌒⌒ ⌒⌒

These qualifiers should be noted over and above the phonetic and phonemic strings. They are sometimes indicated in the graphics of a language but to assign them to phonetics in the ordinary sense would play havoc with phonemic systems, i.e., we would have to admit the glottal stop as an English phoneme, not to mention pre-glottalized consonants. A dilemma arises when features paralinguistic in origin result in permissable phonetic and phonemic strings. Yes said with drawl is "yeah" /$\overset{\frown}{\text{y}}$ é $\overset{\dot{\frown}}{\text{h}}$/ and with clipping "yep" /$\overset{\dot{\smile}}{\text{y}}$ é $\overset{\dot{\smile}}{\text{p}}$/. There is also "nope" /$\overset{\dot{\smile}}{\text{n}}$ ó w $\overset{\dot{\smile}}{\text{p}}$/. These forms may as often end in [ʔ] or in [p˺] but the final stop is never aspirated. The whole problem of "free variation" must thus be considered in the light of paralinguistic communication. "Help!" with [pʻ] is drawled or stretched ("Somebody hear me!") and "Help" with [p˗] is clipped or shortened ("The situation is desperate!").

Vocal qualifiers are employed either to reinforce the linguistic message or to contradict it. For the affect of drawl Smith has the example of "$\overset{\dot{\frown}}{\text{Yeah}}$, he's a real nice $\overset{\dot{\frown}}{\text{guy}}$" where the paralinguistic signal contradicts the linguistic one. "$\overset{♪}{\text{Good}}$-bye, $\overset{♪}{\text{now}}$," with sing-song, obviously tries to mitigate the farewell, a signal to have it cancelled or one for future meetings. "$\overset{<}{\text{I}}$ really should be getting $\overset{<}{\text{on}}$" with over-slow tempo asks for an invitation to stay. "$\overset{>}{\text{And}}$ now that that's settled, let's get on $\overset{>}{\text{to}}$..." with over-fast tempo says "let's forget it." Baby-talk reinforces with either over-high or over-low pitch the garbled phonemes and syntax on the linguistic level ("$\overset{\downarrow}{\text{Is}}$ 'er daddy's iddle $\overset{\downarrow}{\text{dirl}}$"). When contrary signals are being simultaneously sent one can choose to accept one or the other or else submit, with varying degrees of trauma, to a double bind. One thing is certain, however; paralanguage has no legal status.

II. Vocal Modifiers.

Unlike the preceding variations in pitch, intensity and tempo the vocal modifiers indicate changes in the vocal tract only. The vocal tract is the space between the lips and nose at one end and the vocal chords in the larynx at the other. There are at least the following pairs of vocal modifiers in English:

oral	nasal	na	na
	oral	or	or
lingual	slurred	sl	sl
	clear	cl	cl
pharyngeal	open	o	o
	rasped	[illegible]	[illegible]
laryngeal	aspirated	h	h
	glottal	?	?

The first of these distinctions depends upon the position of the uvula and adjacent regions. If the uvula is lax, i.e., lowered, the speech is nasal. If it is more tense and pulled back the speech is oral. In our culture little boys tend to be nasal ("$\overset{\text{na}}{\text{Aw}}$ gee, ma, do we have $\overset{\text{na}}{\text{to?}}$") and little girls, oral.

Nasality is considered "tough" and "vulgar" and is somewhat discouraged by elders. "Gentlemanly" little boys tend to be oral also.

The lingual pair refers to the exactness or inexactness of tongue placing. Slurring, of course, occurs in an infant's speech and in that of an inebriate. It is an affectation among some teen-agers and "method" actors. Overly clear lingual articulation, especially in informal situations, sounds pedantic or legalistic.

The pharyngeal distinction depends upon whether the oral pharynx is very open or squeezed. Openness is, or was until recently, taught in theological seminaries under the rubric of "homiletics," or the art of putting unction into the voice. It is also used by many parents, school teachers, undertakers and some politicians. For children it suggests protection; for their elders, insincerity. Rasp signals great emotion, suffering or the suggestion that one is near the end of one's rope.

The laryngeal pair of aspiration or breathiness and glottalization are made by varying movements of the glottal bands. The former is heard in some radio versions of "The family that prays together stays together" when the normally unaspirated st are [sʻtʻ]. It indicates sincerity, charisma. For obvious reasons it is used sometimes in sexual aggression or sexual play (in the speech and singing of a famous crooner of the thirties to the present).

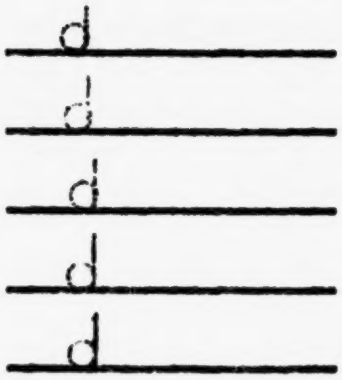
Glottalization, or "glottal affect," is less well understood. It is akin to clipping and little can be said about it except that it is indicative of tension.

Lip rounding versus flattening might be significant in some cultures but I doubt if it is in America. Trager[2] has this and some other features but I feel he has drawn too fine distinctions in this stage of our investigations. Trager also uses "slight, noticeable, extreme" for qualifiers and modifiers. Paralinguistic stress would mean less proliferation of entities.

III. Vocal Segregates.

This statement of the so-called segregates is radically different from that of my predecessors. The qualifiers and modifiers are, for the most part, used concomitantly with language. The segregates occur independently of language. They are significant noises that differ from one another only by the parameter of tone. These are labeled by numbers preceded by P(aralanguage). There are five in American paralanguage for which minimum pairs can be given. They are, with relative musical notation:

P5 very high
P4 high
P3 mid
P2 low
P1 very low



When language ceases and we wish to signal "Wait, I'm not finished" we use P3, the mid paralinguistic tone. This is often called the "hesitation vowel" although it is not a vowel qua vowel at all. In America it tends to be central, in England and Germany low central, but this is linguistically and paralinguistically irrelevant. P3 is variously written as ah, er, ug, hm. The last is P3 nasality. When we say "He hemmed and hawed" we mean he resorted to paralanguage. P3 followed by P4 indicates assent and minimally contrasts with P3 P5 ("I thought so," "I told you so"). P3 P2 signified negation and contrasts with P3 P1 ("Too bad." "Sorry you hurt yourself"). The vocal segregates may be nasal or oral, aspirated or glottal, at least. Whether length is an added feature is uncertain.

IV. Others.

There are other paralinguistic features that do not fall under the above three categories. Two, at least, seem certain:

shouting	sh	sh
whispering	wh	wh

and

laughing	la	la
crying	cr	cr

But how many others? Coughing, clearing one's throat, yawning, sighing, snickering, giggling all suggest themselves. But we must be careful of not ending up with as many units as we have participles in the language. If paralanguage is a dual system, with phoneme and morpheme-like units, or is cenematic and plerematic in Hockett's terminology,[3] it would be difficult to imagine the primes of a more rudimentary system exceeding in number the primes of a more complex one, language. If the system is not dual, but a closed, cenematic one, the number of units is certainly a very finite one. Much research remains to be done in this area.

The Base Line. When one hears the paralanguage of a speaker--and one hears much, overt and covert signals, many features of the personality--one first, rapidly and out-of-awareness, established the base line of the speaker. When one listens to a tone language that one knows one quickly calibrates a vast range of tones into the required significant number, say, four or five in the case of Chinese. This is easily done by uneducated Chinese morons. We similarly set up a paralinguistic base line, and deviations from that base line alone are noted. The base line of the late Humphrey Bogart was nasal and slurred. Nasal versus oral, slurred versus clear are within that framework. If a young lady's base line is high and oral, these features need not be everywhere noted, only in the initial calibration. Similarly, in language a phonetic base line is first noted. After that a phonetic string in addition to a phonemic one is redundant.

Very little can be said at this time about paramorphology or a further structuring of paralinguistic units. It is not certain that they exist but certain signals are highly suggestive of paramorphology. A "little girl's voice" (innocence, helplessness, regression) is composed of high pitch and orality. There is the paralanguage of courtship; low and nasal with the male, high, oral and giggling with the female. Only in its final stages is it low and nasal with both sexes, but with wide pitch and intensity variation on the part of the female. Then there is derogatory imitation, one of the most infuriating acts of aggression one person can commit on another. The male may imitate the female in a high, rapid way ("yes dear, I'll be down in a minute") or the female might try something similar on the male, everly slow and overly low ("aw, just one more little drink." Message: you dumb ox). Still worse is when male or female imitates a male with derogatory female imitation (message: you're ineffective and effeminate). One can think of still others, the this-is-a-serious-matter one, the I'll-take-care-of-everything one, and so on.

There has been still less formal study of the social implications of paralanguage, not that they are difficult to discover but that we all know them only out-of-awareness. We are all aware when someone is talking in an approved, "upper class' way. More than syntax and vowels is involved. The paralanguage must be clear, low and oral, in men, clear, oral with a choice of high or low for women. Low pitch has lately become fashionable for women but fifty years ago all "ladies" spoke with a high pitch. The intensity should not be loud and any deviation should be toward the soft. Many juvenile delinquents, and juveniles, rebel at this and affect slurring and nasality. In Germany today the approved paralanguage for upper class males is high pitch nasality. A sing-song manner is a hallmark of the old fashioned East European Jewish merchant. In Japan, where there are marked linguistic differences between male and female speech, there are striking paralinguistic ones also. Male speech is loud and low, in Samurai movies almost a bark. Female speech is soft and high, almost a squeak.

The dominant middle class white culture in the United States has certain set views on lower class Negro speech. It is "loud," "unclear," "slurred," "lazy." The myth of loudness should be exorcised at once. Any minority or out-group is characterized as "loud," Americans in Europe, Englishmen in America, and so on. But certain differing features are apparent. In the passage below,[4] which should, of course, be heard rather than read, some of these are marked. There is uneveness in pitch, intensity and tempo (social insecurity). The first person pronoun is usually overloud ("This is what I think, others may think differently"). Love and pride is indicated by the slow spacing of "canary colored house." Racial matters are generally said softly and rapidly ("Let's pretend they are not there"). And there are others, which we have only begun to understand.

Well, I grew up in, ah, a canary colored house, trimmed in white, on a corner, a hundred fifty lot, hundred by fifty. Trees on each side, rose bushes in front and back, and honeysuckle, which I used to have to work, mow the lawn, take care of the flowers, which I never did mind, as a kid. And I lived in a neighborhood where I was the only Negro. I didn't understand my people when I come here. Ah, they was different. I didn't understand this ridiculing, criticizing one another. Because I always thought it was wonderful to be from another state besides Illinois........No, I have no brothers or sisters. I have an uncle who taught school there, thirty-three years, still lives in Harrisburg. And he has four boys and a girl.... We had all colored grammar schools due to the fact Negroes wanted a colored grammar school because they wanted their boys to grow up to teach. You see, one time my aunt never went to a colored school but I had. The highschool was mixed......

< < P_2
Only one town, it's called Carey's Mill, Illinois. We fellows
∧ ∧ ∧ ∧
used to go down and play ball and that was a colored town in
∧ ∧ ∧ ∧ P_2 ∧ ∧ ∧ \
itself. They did not 'low foreigners in that town......They
∧ ∧
would give them forty-eight hours to move on, anybody if they
∧ ∧ ∨ ↓ ↓ ∨
was foreigners and they didn't like too much of a dark in color,
∨ ∨ <
which most of them was kin......It was just a group of, I
∨ ∨ ∧ ∧ ∨
couldn't say, Negroes were in that vicinity farming. I never
∨ ∧ ∧ P_2 ∧ ∧
did learn it, why they was there. You see, my grandfather came
∧ ∧ ∨ ∨ > ↓ ∨ > ↓ ∨
out West Virginia into Illinois, great-grandfather. And a lot
∧ ∧
of 'em was kin to him. I had a lot of kinfolks myself, but still,
> > ∨ ∨
they was very the clanniest Negroes, I've ever seen my life.

1. The bibliography on paralanguage is:

Smith, Henry Lee, Jr.: "The Communication Situation,"
Department of State mimeographed paper.
"An Outline of Metalinguistic Analysis,"
Georgetown Round Table Conference on
Linguistics and Language Study, 1952
and Robert E. Pittenger: "A Basis for
some Contributions of Linguistics to
Psychiatry", *Psychiatry*, 20, 1957, 61-78

McQuown, Norman A.: "Linguistics Transcription and Specification of Psychiatric Interview
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Trager, George L.: Paralanguage: A First Approximation,"
Studies in Linguistics, 13, 1958, 1-12

Pittenger, Robert E., Hockett, Charles F.,
Donehy, John J.: *The First Five Minutes*, 1960,
especially pp. 185-200.

2. Op. cit. p. 11.

3. Charles F. Hockett; *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 575.

4. From a taped interview between J. Willis, a Negro graduate student in anthropology at the University of Chicago and C.O.M. a lower class Negro from southern Illinois, now living in Chicago.

Reactions to Pronunciations

Vernon S. Larsen and Carolyn H. Larsen

The purpose of this study was to obtain reactions of Chicago natives to various pronunciations of single words and to identify which pronunciations act as social markers. The instruments used consisted of tape recordingsof the pronunciation items and response sheets accompanying the tapes.

Individual pronunciations were used on the tapes with no provision to test either paralanguage or grammatical items. Paralanguage was not tested because Professor Austin's study had shown that the complexity of paralanguage makes it difficult, in view of our present knowledge, to extract single features to which people could respond. Grammatical items were not tested because Lee Pederson's study revealed that, in Chicago, popular assumptions about the social status of grammatical items correspond closely to reality.

Accordingly, an instrument was prepared to test reactions to features of pronunciations, using words whose pronunciations in Chicago vary sharply according to the race and social class of the speaker.

Preliminary Instrument. A preliminary instrument was pretested in order to develop the final instrument. It consisted of a tape containing 32 pronunciation items in random order (only 30 of which were scored), spoken by a middle class white Chicagoan, a middle class Chicago Negro, a soduthern middle-class white (raised in Greenville, S.C.), and an East Indian speaking English. Exhibit 1.3 shows the pronunciation items. The response sheet for the preliminary instrument (see Exhibit 1.1 and 1.2) contained twelve scales on which the respondents marked their attitudes toward the pronunciations. The response sheet is based on Osgood's semantic differential, a technique for measuring attitudes towards individual words or concepts as a way of determining their full meaning. In this case, the response sheet was used to measure reactions to individual pronunciations. It is possible that there was some confounding of reactions to the words themselves with reactions to the pronunciations. We have no positive way to measure this. However, if such confounding exists, it should be relatively equal for all pronunciations of a given word.

The raters on the preliminary instrument were a small population of middle class whites of whom eight were judged sufficiently close in background to the Chicago middle-class norms to serve as respondents. It was hoped that information from their responses would indicate whether the instrument could reveal the prejudices of such a group in relation to the four dialects represented on the tape.

The pretest data showed that the instrument was generally effective for eliciting reactions to pronunciations and that not all scales discriminated among the pronunciations. Statistical summaries of the raters' responses to the pronunciation items (Exhibits 1.4 and 1.5 through 1.15) support the following generalizations:

1. Chicago white pronunciations were fairly well discriminated from Chicago Negro pronunciations on several scales;

2. The East Indian pronunciations were never clearly identified with either Chicago group on any of the scales;

3. The Southern white pronunciations were given an evaluation similar to that of the Negro speaker on many of the scales, although the population on which the instrument had been tried was a class which

the speaker (urban reared and the most highly educated speaker on the tape) had been teaching for an academic quarter.

Intercorrelations of the twelve scales (Exhibit 1.16) showed that there was overlap among several of them, which meant that the number of scales administered could be reduced without markedly affecting the amount of information obtainable from the instrument.

Final Instruments. After the preliminary instrument had shown the feasibility of the technique, a final version was prepared for administration to larger samples. By reducing the number of scales--including only those that seemed most relevant and most discriminating--it became possible to test more pronunciations in a shorter time. There were two forms of response sheet. One combined five scales:

1. Rural-Urban
2. Weak-Strong
3. Unpleasant-Pleasant
4. Negro-White
5. Uneducated-Educated

The other--intended for use with younger respondents--omitted scales one and two because they tended to confuse the raters and to make it difficult for them to respond in the time allotted (See Exhibit 2.1).

The final pronunciation tape contained 50 items in random order, representing five pronunciations: Chicago middle class white, Chicago middle class Negro, Chicago lower-class Negro, Southern reared middle class white, and a Negro using Chicago middle class white pronunciations. The words were chosen to illustrate features that have been found to be socially distributed in the Chicago area. The number of actual words tested was maximized by including lower class Negro pronunciations only where the middle class ones would have been highly similar to the white ones. (See Exhibits 2.2 and 2.3.)

Reproducibility (Reliability). To get an indication of the reproducibility (or reliability) of judgments on the five scales, ten of the pronunciation items were administered twice to a small group of college students of diverse dialect backgrounds (N=12). Immediately after responding to the fifty pronunciations, this group responded to the last ten a second time. (They were, of course, given no opportunity to refer to their previous responses.)

Raw score values for the two sets of responses were correlated separately by scale, yielding r's ranging from .57 to .85. In addition, means on each scale were computed separately for each rater; correlating these means resulted in r's from .66 to .95. (Exhibit 2.5).

Both sets of correlations suggest that individual raters are reasonably consistent in their ratings and that (considering the small size of the test-retest sample) the instrument is adequately reliable--especially when used to obtain group judgments.

Statistical Analysis. The final instruments were administered to a variety of respondents both in and out of the Chicago area. The analyses reported here, however, are limited to raters raised and residing in Chicago and its nearby suburbs. The sample contained white and Negro high school students, white and Negro college students, and graduate students and teachers (Exhibit 2.4).

Before the responses were analyzed, each rater's responses were normalized so that the magnitude of the scores on each scale would be the same. This was done by computing the mean and standard deviation of the raw scores, and then converting each of the responses to a Z score (with a mean of zero and standard deviation of one). This was done separately for each rater on each scale.

Descriptive statistics were computed by level of education (high school, college, and graduate) and for high school and college groups by race. Exhibit 2.6 shows the complete set of statistics for the total college sample, and Exhibit 2.7 shows graphs of the means for the total high school sample.

The reactions to the different pronunciations can be compared simply by noting the differences between the average ratings. The more significant the differences, the more likely it is that the pronunciation differences are noticed as social markers by the largest populations represented by the samples. Exhibits 2.8 through 2.11 show where significant differences occur between reactions to the pronunciations.

Ratings of Pronunciations. The following generalizations can be made about the ratings of pronunciations:

1. On scale 1 (urban versus rural), the Chicago white pronunciations (WH) were generally considered to be more urban and the southern white (SO) more rural than the middle class Chicago Negro pronunciations (MN).

2. On scale 2 (weak versus strong), the Negro pronunciations were most often rated stronger. Though this might have been a function of paralinguistic factors in the speaker's voice (the speaker has had singing training), when the same speaker gave both middle class white pronunciations (ME) and middle class Negro pronunciations (MN), the middle class white pronunciation was still rated as weaker.

3. On scale 3 (unpleasant versus pleasant), the Negro pronunciations

were generally rated less pleasant than the white pronunciations with the exception of the pronunciation of the word room. The results of ratings of this word in comparison to ratings of the word roof were confusing and erratic. This is not unexpected considering the incidence of variation in the vowels of oo words throughout the nation. In the data obtained here, the variation does not seem to be a valid social marker.

4. On scale 4 (Negro versus white), the Negro pronunciations were always rated as more Negro. This was also true when the Negro speaker gave both a middle class white pronunciation (MW) and a middle class Negro pronunciation (MN). An exception to this was the Negro pronunciation /ɑnt/, rated by the total college sample as more white. But on the basis of other samples, the reactions differ. We feel this is because the Negro pronunciation of the word aunt is sometimes confused with the New England pronunciation which has in the past been considered popularly to be a prestige form.

5. On scale 4 (uneducated versus educated), the Negro pronunciations were more often considered less educated.

6. It is clear that certain variations represented by the words tested here are social markers while others are not.

Slight phonetic variations (as in push) are not significant as markers; incidental phonemic variations (rinses, roof, room, aunt, etc.) are less reliable than systematic variations, though certain features (as in greasy and judge) elicit more intense reactions.

Supra-segmental variations (as in hotel) serve slightly as markers on some scales but not others, while variations in stress combined with phonemic differences (as in genuine) are definitely markers.

Systematic variations in low vowels and in diphthongs (as illustrated by *four*, *five*, *tired*, *borrow*, and *married*) are the clearest social markers for both white and Negro populations in Chicago.

7. Raters appear to react to paralinguistic phenomena within a single word as well as to the phonemic content in discriminating between pronunciations (illustrated particularly by reactions to the NE versions of *married* and *greasy*).

Group Differences in Ratings. To a certain extent individual rater idiosyncracies (extremism or conservatism in ratings, tendencies to use only one side of the scale, etc.) which affect individual raw scores will balance out when group averages are computed. However, if these idiosyncracies differ from scale to scale, it becomes difficult to compare even the means on the various scales. Inspection of raw score data suggests that the raters were somewhat reluctant to use the "extremely Negro" end of the white-Negro scale, tended to avoid both extremes on some scales, and made use of the full range on others. This was why the pronunciation comparisons were based on individually normalized scores.

In terms of normalized scores, the Negro samples did not generally react as intensely as the white samples, though their reactions were usually in the same direction. This seems to indicate that though the Negroes accept the middle class white pronunciation as a more firmly established standard, they are more tolerant toward variations from that norm.

Analysis of raw score differences (Exhibit 2.16) shows that some items and groups of items elicited quite different patterns of responses from white samples than from Negro samples. Whites tended to give significantly higher raw score ratings on the Negro-white scale, and Negroes tended to give higher ratings on the unpleasant-pleasant scale. This data suggests that further analysis of responses in terms of a detailed comparison of reaction of different groups might help clarify attitudes toward several of the pronunciations.

Conclusions and Implications

1. Negro pronunciations are generally rated as more Negro, more unpleasant, less educated, stronger, and less urban than white pronunciations. When a Negro gives both white and Negro pronunciations, the raters tend to favor the white pronunciation. When they are confronted with pronunciations that are similar for both white and Negro speakers, they are still able to clearly differentiate between white and Negro speakers.

2. Certain words, particularly those with low vowels and diphthongs, and *r* combinations, are quite clear social markers, and are considered particularly unpleasant, uneducated, and more rural by the raters.

3. Negro raters generally agree with white raters, which would indicate that Negro rathers, at least on some level, implicitly accept the white standard of pronunciation as more valuable, even though deficient in strength.

4. The strong-weak ratings are interesting from a socio-psychological point of view. It would seem that both whites and Negroes felt the Negro pronunciations to be stronger (even when rating a Negro giving both white and Negro pronunciations). This might indicate that both groups accept the prevailing attitude (or prejudice) that Negroes are more

strong than whites. In the pretest, the Negro speaker was also rated consistently as more masculine. This may indicate that the instrument is sensitive to a variety of myths stemming from the prejudices of both cultures.

On the basis of these conclusions, we feel that there are some very definite implications for the teaching of English to the lower-class Negro child. Pronunciation is significant in eliciting negative and positive attitudes. Though there are phenomena other than pronunciation involved in raters' reactions, we believe that there should be some effort to enable people to modify dialectical variants that particularly disturb their audience. By this, we do not mean to place a value judgment on middle class speech. However, since the raters, and presumably society, do place such a positive value judgment on middle class speech, we feel that the lower-class child might be given some systematic practice in using the middle-class pronunciations in a middle class situation. The middle class child must also be taught to be more tolerant of differences. It would probably be most valuable to deal only with the systematic dialectical variants that elicit the strongest reactions, rather than with isolated items or variants that are not significant markers.

REACTIONS TO PRONUNCIATIONS--LIST OF EXHIBITS

Preliminary Instrument

1.1 The Instructions
1.2 The Scales
1.3 The Items
1.4 Response Summary
1.5 On
1.6 Married
1.7 Water
1.8 Rinse
1.9 Room
1.10 Syrup
1.11 Aunt
1.12 Four
1.13 Greasy
1.14 Poor
1.15 Wheelbarrow
1.16 Intercorrelations of Scales

Final Instruments

2.1 The Instructions and Scales
2.2 The Questions for Items
2.3 The Items
2.4 The Raters
2.5 Reproducibility of Ratings
2.6 Descriptive Statistics on Total CollegeSample
2.7 Ratings by 116 High School Students
2.8 Differences Between Ratings: WH vs. MN
2.9 Differences Between Ratings: WH vs. LN, and WH vs. NE
2.10 Differences Between Ratings: SO vs. MN
2.11 Differences Between Ratings: SO vs. LN, SO vs. NE, and NE vs. MN
2.12 Significant Raw Score Differences Between White and Negro Raters

Exhibit 1.1--Preliminary Instrument

THE INSTRUCTIONS

We want to learn what you think about the way certain words are pronounced by several different people who live in Chicago. We will play a tape recording of these pronunciations, and you are to mark your own opinions in the spaces on the following pages. Each pronunciation item has been numbered, so you can easily find where to mark.

One voice will read the item number and then read a question or part of a sentence, so that you will know what word is being pronounced. Then another person will pronounce his answer. You should judge only the pronunciation of the answer. Each answer will be repeated several times. It will work this way:

"Item No. 1. To see if you're right about something you might say: "I'm right---'"
[Answer] "AIN'T I?...AIN'T I?...AIN'T I?"

Under each item number you will find some pairs of words arranged like this:

ITEM NO. 1
UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:___:___:___ PLEASANT
EDUCATED ___:___:___:___:___:___ UNEDUCATED
...and so forth.

While you listen to the pronunciation of the answer, decide which word of each pair describes that pronunciation best and mark an X in the space that shows your opinion.

If you feel that the pronunciation is--

--extremely one way or extremely the other way, mark like this:

UNPLEASANT _X_:___:___:___:___:___ PLEASANT
UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:___:___:_X_ PLEASANT

--quite one way or quite the other way, mark like this:

UNPLEASANT ___:_X_:___:___:___:___ PLEASANT
UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:___:_X_:___ PLEASANT

--slightly one way or slightly the other way, mark like this:

UNPLEASANT ___:___:_X_:___:___:___ PLEASANT
UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:_X_:___:___ PLEASANT

MARK ONLY ONE CHOICE FOR EACH PAIR OF WORDS; otherwise your opinion won't count!

There are no right answers and there are no worng answers. Your own opinion is all that matters. Don't worry if some of the word pairs are not exact opposites, and don't be disturbed if they don't seem to fit the ptonunciation. Just decide which one is most applicable and how applicable it is. Even if it seems hard, be sure to make a choice each time.

(Now turn the page and get ready for item number one.)

Exhibit 1.2--Preliminary Instrument

THE SCALES

On the response sheets, there were twelve scales for each item, arranged as follows, with the high scoring sides randomly assigned:

ITEM NO. ___

(A) UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:___:___:___ PLEASANT
(B) EDUCATED ___:___:___:___:___:___ UNEDUCATED
(C) AMBITIOUS ___:___:___:___:___:___ LAZY
(D) LOWER-CLASS ___:___:___:___:___:___ UPPER-CLASS
(E) WARM ___:___:___:___:___:___ COLD
(F) URBAN ___:___:___:___:___:___ RURAL
(G) NEGRO ___:___:___:___:___:___ WHITE
(H) FEMININE ___:___:___:___:___:___ MASCULINE
(J) BOSS ___:___:___:___:___:___ WORKER
(K) STRONG ___:___:___:___:___:___ WEAK
(L) IRRESPONSIBLE ___:___:___:___:___:___ RESPONSIBLE
(M) SAFE ___:___:___:___:___:___ DANGEROUS

In the reports of the analyses, the scales were all arranged in the same scoring direction, with the order and scoring values as follows:

		extremely	quite	slightly	slightly	quite	extremely	
(D)	Upper-class	0	1	2	3	4	5	Lower-class
(B)	Educated	0	1	2	3	4	5	Uneducated
(G)	White	0	1	2	3	4	5	Negro
(F)	Urban	0	1	2	3	4	5	Rural
(A)	Pleasant	0	1	2	3	4	5	Unpleasant
(C)	Ambitious	0	1	2	3	4	5	Lazy
(J)	Boss	0	1	2	3	4	5	Worker
(L)	Responsible	0	1	2	3	4	5	Irresponsible
(M)	Safe	0	1	2	3	4	5	Dangerous
(E)	Warm	0	1	2	3	4	5	Cold
(H)	Masculine	0	1	2	3	4	5	Feminine
(K)	Strong	0	1	2	3	4	5	Weak

Exhibit 1.3--Preliminary Instrument

THE ITEMS

Introduction	Speaker W	Speaker N	Speakers S & F
When it is dark, you turn the light ...	25. [ʌn]	16. [ɔn]	--
She is engaged to be ...	20. [ˈmɛrid]	12. [ˈmæ·rid]	--
If you're thirsty, you get a drink of ...	13. [ˈwotɚ]	23. [ˈwɔ·tə]	--
What does a woman do to get soapsuds off the dishes?	29. [ˈrɪnsəz]	18. [rɛns]	14. [ˈr̮ɪnsəz] (F)
I opened the door and walked into the ...	5. [rum]	28. [rʊm]	7. [r̮um] (F)
What do you pour over waffles?	27. [ˈsɪrəp]	9. [ˈsəʌrəp]	22. [ˈsɪrˌəp] (F)
What do you call your uncle's wife?	31. [ænt]	26. [ɑnt]	3. [æ̃nt] (S)
Two plus two is ...	11. [for]	6. [foə]	17. [foˇə] (S)
If you spill the butter, the table feels ...	8. [ˈgrisi]	21. [ˈgrizɪ]	30. [ˈgrizi] (S)
If a man is not rich, he may be ...	15. [pʊr]	2. [puə]	24. [poə] (S)
The workman carried his load in a ...	10. [ˈwilˌbɛro]	4. [ˈhwɪlˌbære]	19. [ˈhwilˌbære] (S)

Exhibit 1.4--Preliminary Instrument

RESPONSE SUMMARY

ITEMS		SCALES											
		Upper-class Lower-class (D)	Educated Uneducated (B)	White Negro (G)	Urban Rural (F)	Pleasant Unpleasant (A)	Ambitious Lazy (C)	Boss Worker (J)	Responsible Irresponsible (L)	Safe Dangerous (M)	Warm Cold (E)	Masculine Feminine (H)	Strong Weak (K)
On													
W-25	M	2.1	2.0	1.1	1.1	2.8	1.6	2.8	2.2	2.2	3.2	1.8	2.5
	SD	0.8	1.3	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.2	0.9	0.7	1.3	1.0	1.2
N-16	M	2.9	2.9	1.5	2.9	3.2	2.9	3.1	2.1	2.0	2.6	1.0	1.8
	SD	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.3	0.8	1.0
Married													
W-20	M	2.0	1.6	1.0	1.0	2.6	1.6	2.4	2.0	2.2	3.0	1.4	2.1
	SD	1.1	1.2	1.4	0.9	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.5	1.0	1.7	0.7	0.6
N-12	M	2.8	2.9	1.6	1.8	4.5	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.2	4.0	1.1	2.9
	SD	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.7	0.8	1.6	1.1	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.6
Water													
W-13	M	1.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	1.5	1.2	2.2	1.6	1.8	2.6	0.9	2.0
	SD	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	1.4	0.9	1.3	0.7	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8
N-23	M	2.5	2.0	2.0	3.1	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.0	1.6	2.2	1.8	2.0
	SD	1.2	1.5	1.7	1.2	1.5	1.5	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.5	1.3	0.9
Rinse													
W-29	M	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.7*	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.4	2.2
	SD	1.0	0.9	1.7	1.1	1.0*	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0
N-18	M	2.0	1.1	1.9	1.4	2.2	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	1.9	0.9	1.4
	SD	0.9	0.8	1.7	1.1	1.8	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.8	1.1
F-14	M	2.4	1.6	1.1	2.1	2.9	2.5	3.2	2.5	2.0	3.8	3.6	3.8
	SD	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.9	1.0

Note: These data are based on the responses of eight Midwestern raters, except for the values marked with asterisks, which are based on seven raters.

Exhibit 1.4 (Continued)

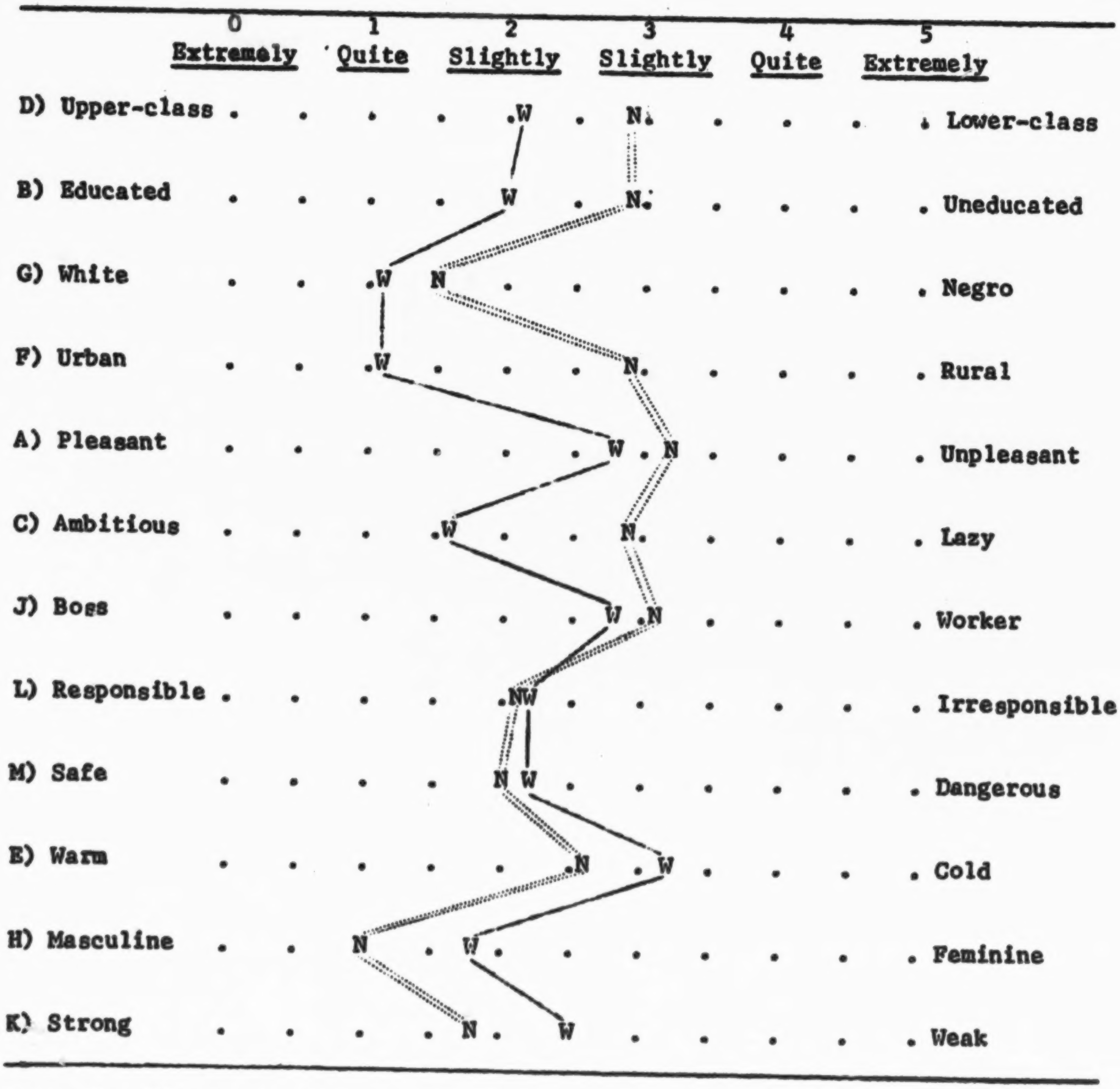
ITEMS		SCALES											
		(D) Upper-class Lower-class	(B) Educated Uneducated	(G) White Negro	(F) Urban Rural	(A) Pleasant Unpleasant	(C) Ambitious Lazy	(J) Boss Worker	(L) Responsible Irresponsible	(M) Safe Dangerous	(E) Warm Cold	(H) Masculine Feminine	(K) Strong Weak
Room													
W-5	M	2.5	2.1	0.9	1.2	2.4	2.5	2.9	1.8	1.8	2.0	1.4	2.4
	SD	0.5	1.0	0.8	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.2
N-28	M	3.2	3.2	2.8	2.9	3.1	2.9	3.2	2.2	2.5	2.4	1.1	2.2
	SD	1.0	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.1	1.0	1.4	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.7
F-7	M	2.9	3.1	1.5	1.8	3.2	2.4	3.1	2.9	2.0	3.6	3.1	3.6
	SD	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.0	0.8	1.4	0.5	0.8	1.1
Syrup													
W-27	M	1.9	1.4	0.8	0.9	2.2	1.2	2.2	1.8	1.9	2.4	1.5	1.5
	SD	0.8	1.3	1.0	0.8	1.7	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.8
N-9	M	3.1	3.6	2.4	3.1*	2.6	3.0*	3.1	2.0	2.5	2.5	1.1	2.1
	SD	1.2	0.7	1.5	1.1*	0.7	0.6*	0.6	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.6	1.2
F-22	M	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.1	3.2	2.1	2.1	2.5	2.9	3.0
	SD	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.9	0.8	0.9
Aunt													
W-31	M	2.9	3.1	1.4	2.2	3.5	2.5	3.1	2.1	2.2	2.6	1.6	3.1
	SD	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.8	0.9	1.4	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.3	0.9	0.8
N-26	M	2.4	2.0	2.6	1.5	1.5	1.2	2.8	1.1	1.2	1.5	1.0	1.1
	SD	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.4	0.7	1.7	0.6	0.7	1.3	0.8	0.8
S-3	M	3.9	4.0	1.4	2.8	3.5	3.2	3.6	2.5	2.8	3.1	1.9	3.5
	SD	1.0	1.4	1.3	1.7	1.5	1.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.6	0.8	0.8
Four													
W-11	M	2.2	2.1	0.8	2.0	1.8	2.5	2.8	1.9	1.6	2.6	1.5	3.0
	SD	1.2	1.1	0.7	1.3	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.8
N-6	M	2.9	2.9	3.5	2.4	2.0	2.4	3.0	1.9	1.9	1.6	0.8	1.8
	SD	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.3
S-17	M	3.6*	3.3*	2.1*	4.1*	3.6*	2.9*	3.4*	2.1*	2.7*	2.7*	1.7*	2.3*
	SD	1.3*	2.0*	1.9*	0.9*	1.7*	1.7*	1.3*	1.1*	1.0*	1.6*	1.3*	1.3*

Exhibit 1.4 (Concluded)

		SCALES											
ITEMS		Upper-class Lower-class (D)	Educated Uneducated (B)	White Negro (G)	Urban Rural (F)	Pleasant Unpleasant (A)	Ambitious Lazy (C)	Boss Worker (J)	Responsible Irresponsible (L)	Safe Dangerous (M)	Warm Cold (E)	Masculine Feminine (H)	Strong Weak (K)
Greasy													
W-8	M	2.2	2.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.5	1.5	1.6	2.6	1.4	2.4
	SD	1.2	1.3	1.8	1.4	0.9	0.9	1.7	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.7	0.9
N-21	M	3.1*	3.6	2.1	3.3*	4.1	3.1	3.2	2.9	3.1	2.9	1.1	2.9
	SD	1.3*	0.7	1.4	1.3*	1.4	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.2	0.8	1.6
S-30	M	2.9	3.5	1.8	4.1	2.9	2.9	3.5	2.2	0.9	1.5	0.9	2.6
	SD	1.3	1.7	2.1	1.1	1.6	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.8	0.5
Poor													
W-15	M	2.0	1.5	1.4	1.0*	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.0	2.4	1.1	1.9
	SD	0.8	1.4	1.5	0.6*	1.1	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	0.8
N-2	M	2.9	3.2	3.2	2.4	2.4	2.6	3.0	2.0	2.1	2.8	1.0	1.9
	SD	1.2	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.8	0.9	1.8	1.3	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.1
S-24	M	3.1	3.1	2.9	3.1	2.8	2.4	2.8	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.2
	SD	1.1	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.0	1.5	1.1	0.7
Wheelbarrow													
W-10	M	1.9	2.4	1.1	1.6	2.8	1.6	2.0	1.8	1.6	2.2	0.8	2.0
	SD	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.7	0.9	1.2	0.9	1.2
N-4	M	3.1	3.2	2.1	3.2	1.9	2.4	3.4	1.9	2.0	1.8	1.0	1.8
	SD	0.6	0.7	1.6	1.3	1.4	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.8	1.2	0.8	1.0
S-19	M	3.1	3.6	1.2	4.2	3.2	2.5	3.1	2.4	2.0	2.8	1.1	2.1
	SD	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.0	1.7	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.2	1.0	0.6

Exhibit 1.5--Preliminary Instrument

ON



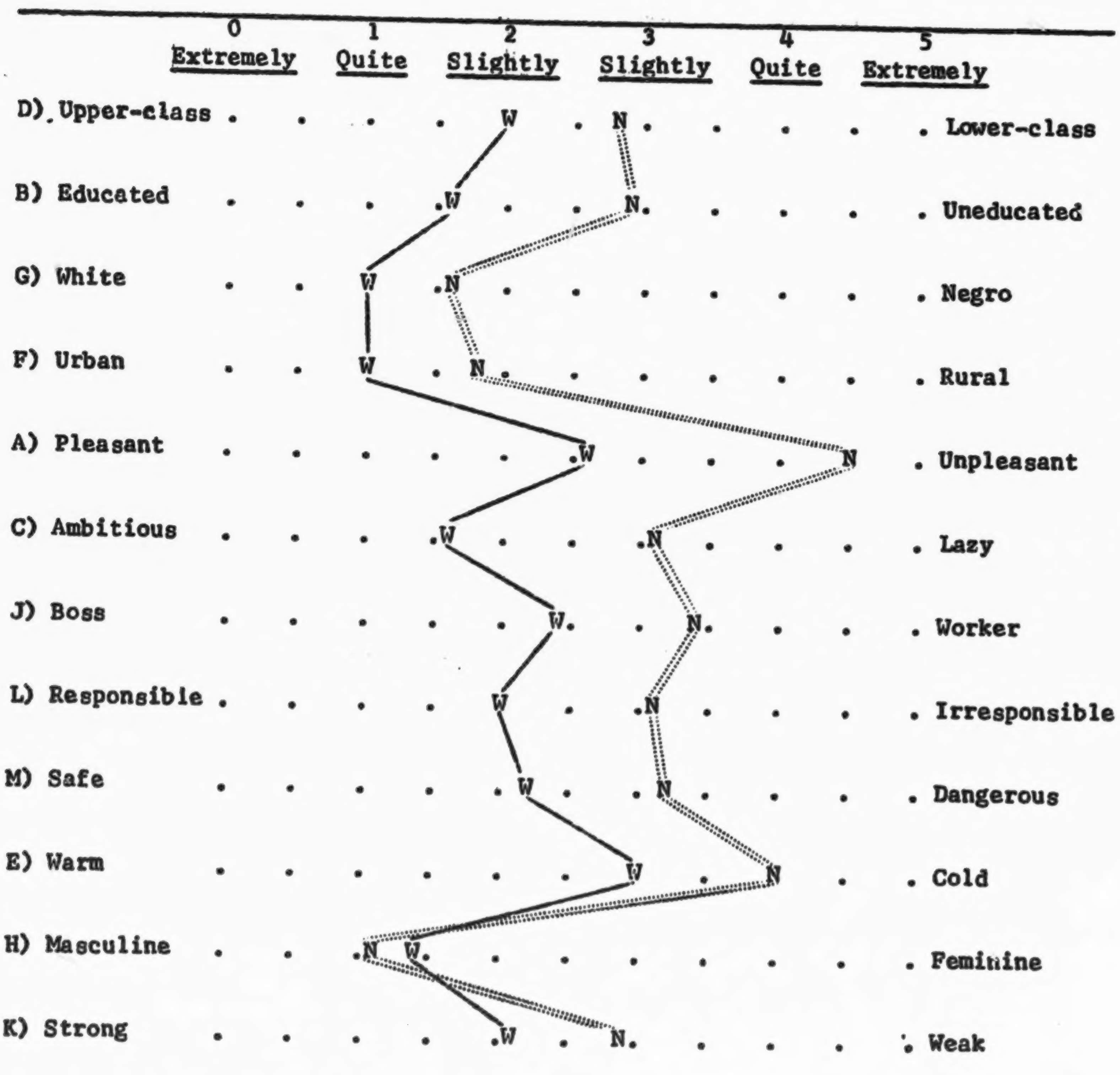
Means for Midwestern Raters

W = 25. [ɑn]

N = 16. [ɔn]

Exhibit 1.6--Preliminary Instrument

MARRIED



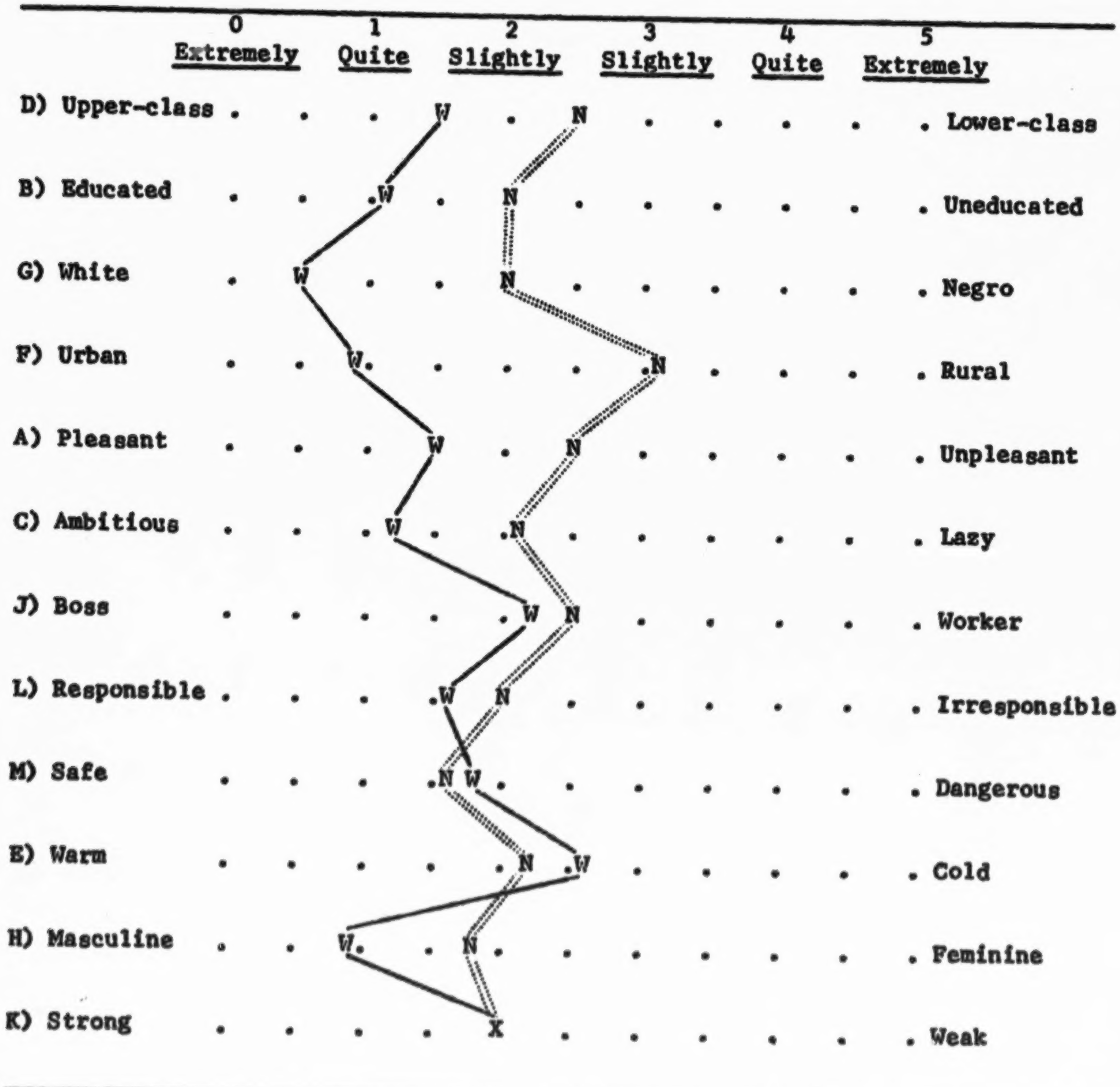
Means for Midwestern Raters

W = 20. ['mɛrid]

N = 12. ['mɛɜ·rid]

Exhibit 1.7--Preliminary Instrument

WATER



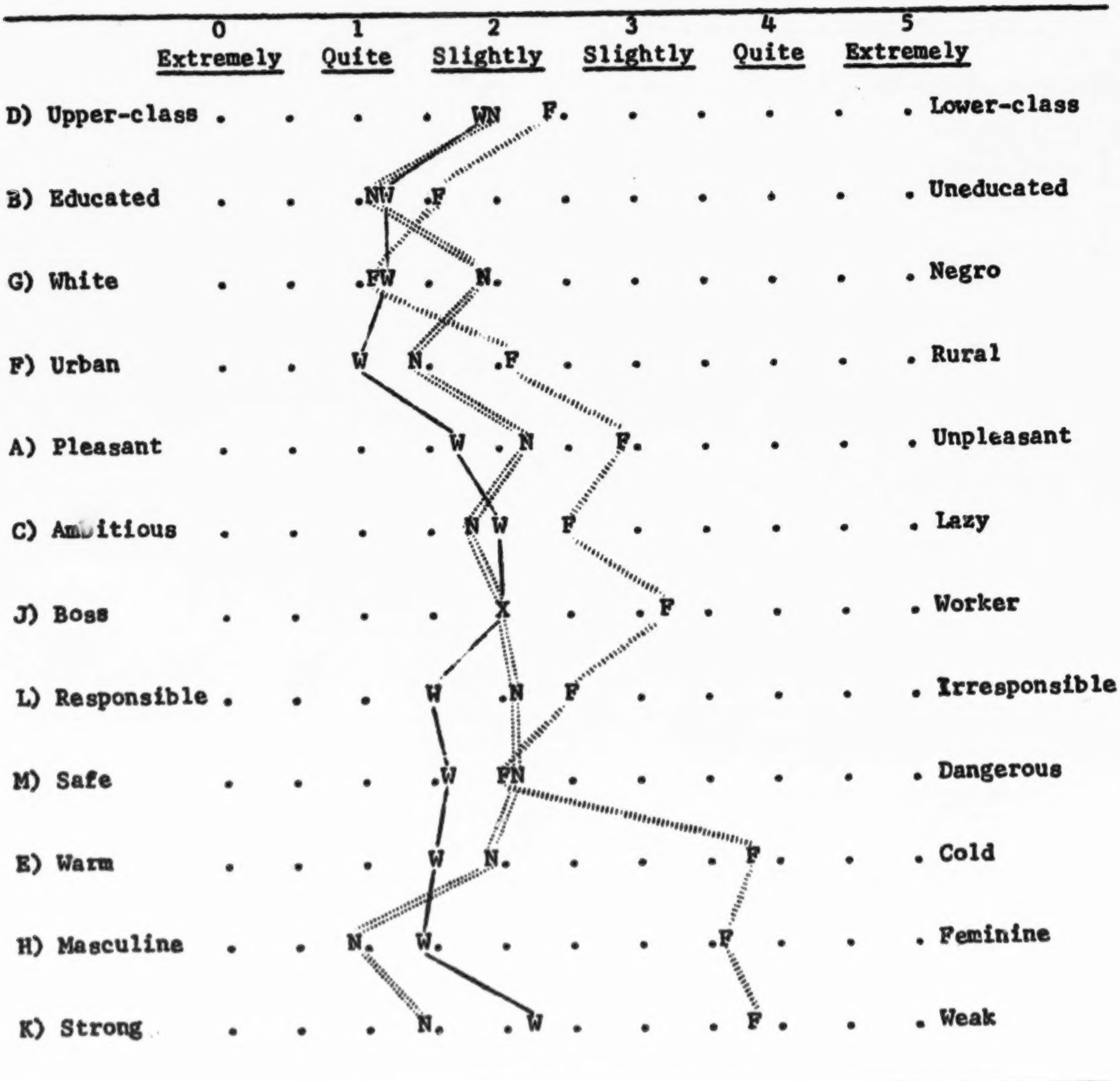
Means for Midwestern Raters

W = 13. [ˈwɔtɚ·]

N = 23. [ˈwɔˑtə]

Exhibit 1.8--Preliminary Instrument

RINSE



Means for Midwestern Raters

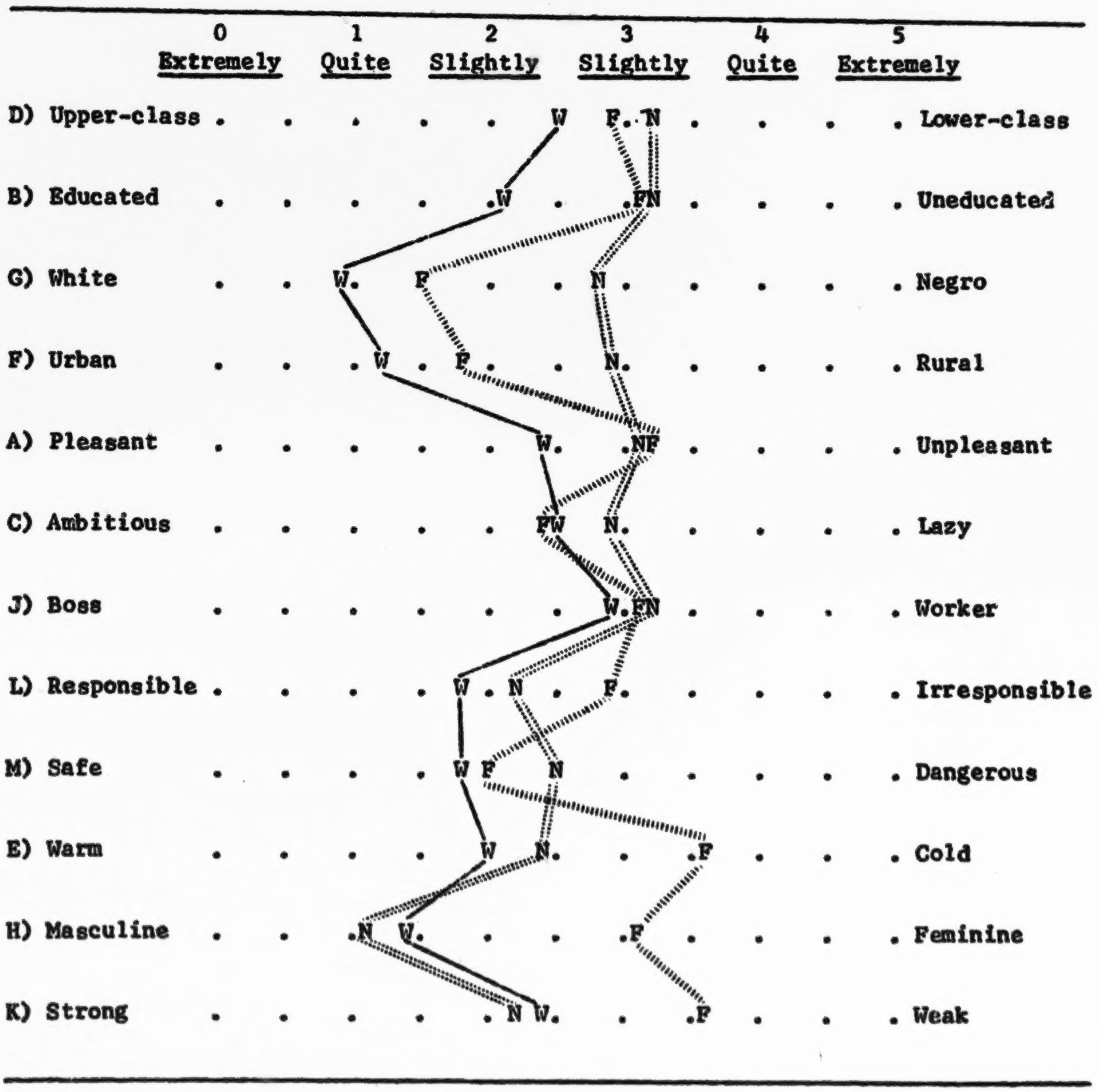
W = 29. [ˈrɪnsəz]

N = 18. [rɛns]

F = 14. [ˈɝːnsəz]

Exhibit 1.9--Preliminary Instrument

ROOM



Means for Midwestern Raters

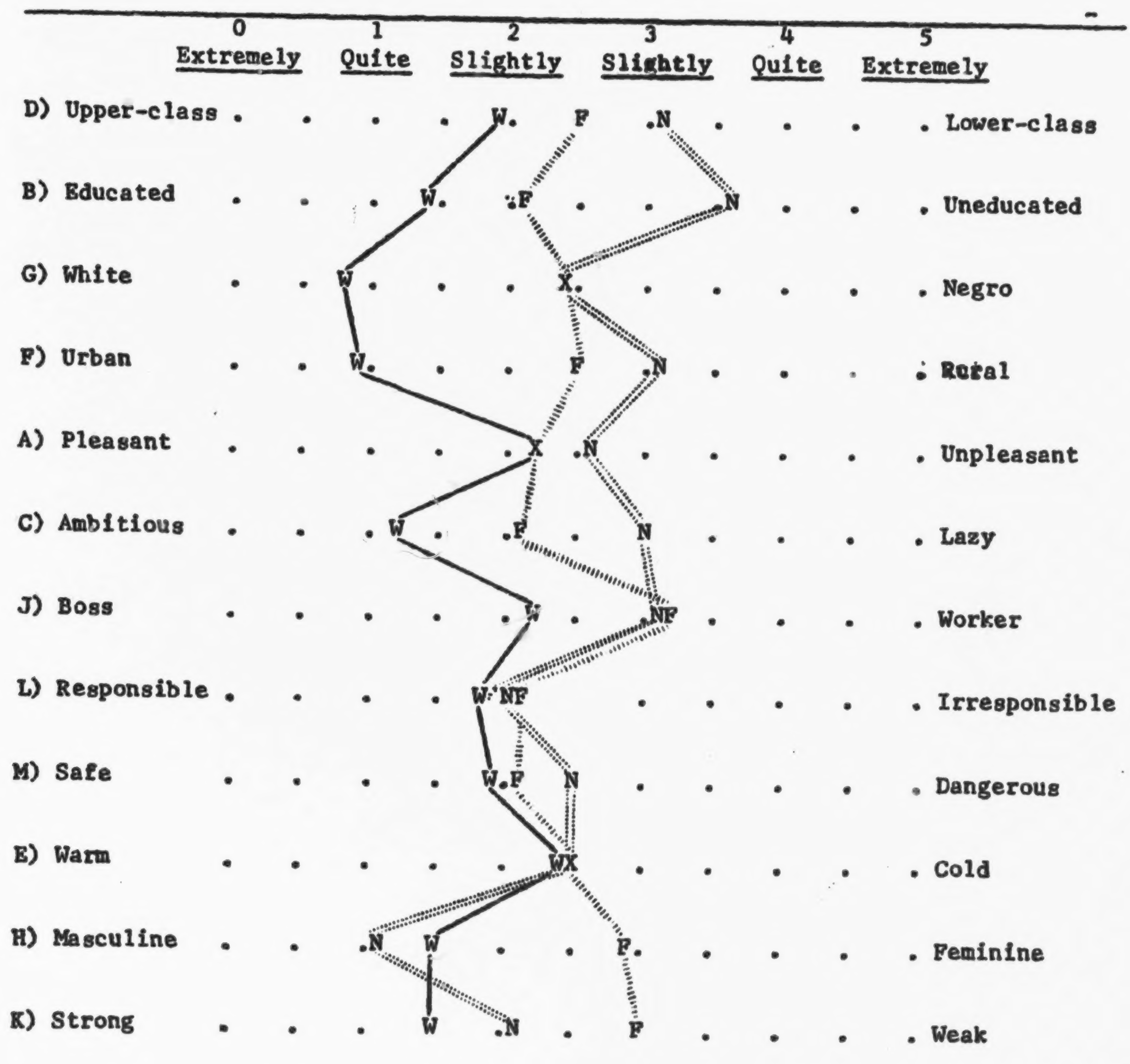
W = 5. [rum]

N = 28. [r·m]

F = 7. [rum]

Exhibit 1.10—Preliminary Instrument

SYRUP



Means for Midwestern Raters

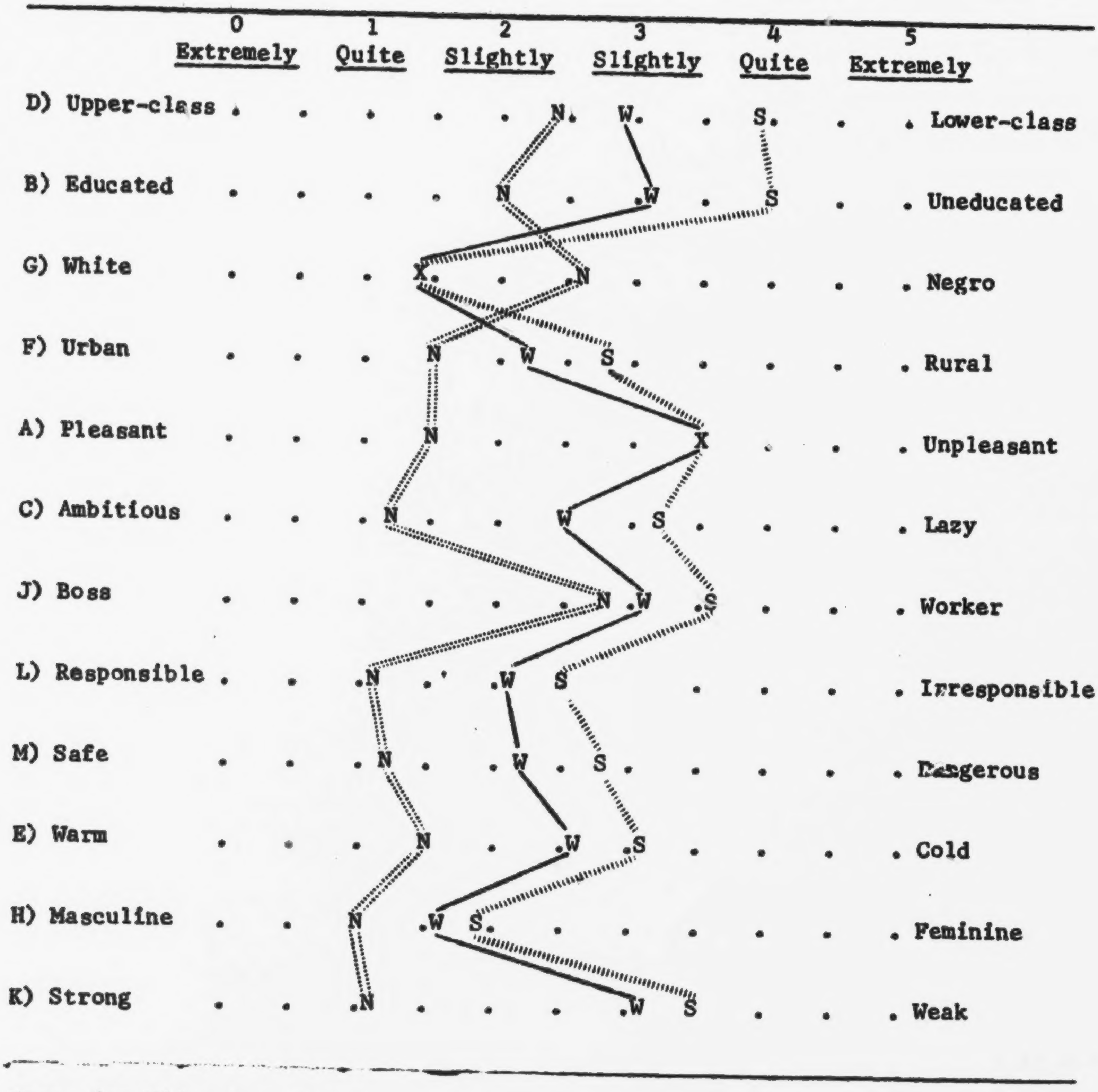
W = 27. [ˈsɪ̈rəp]

N = 9. [ˈsə^rəp]

F = 22. [ˈsɪ̈r͵əp]

Exhibit 1.11—Preliminary Instrument

AUNT



Means for Midwestern Raters

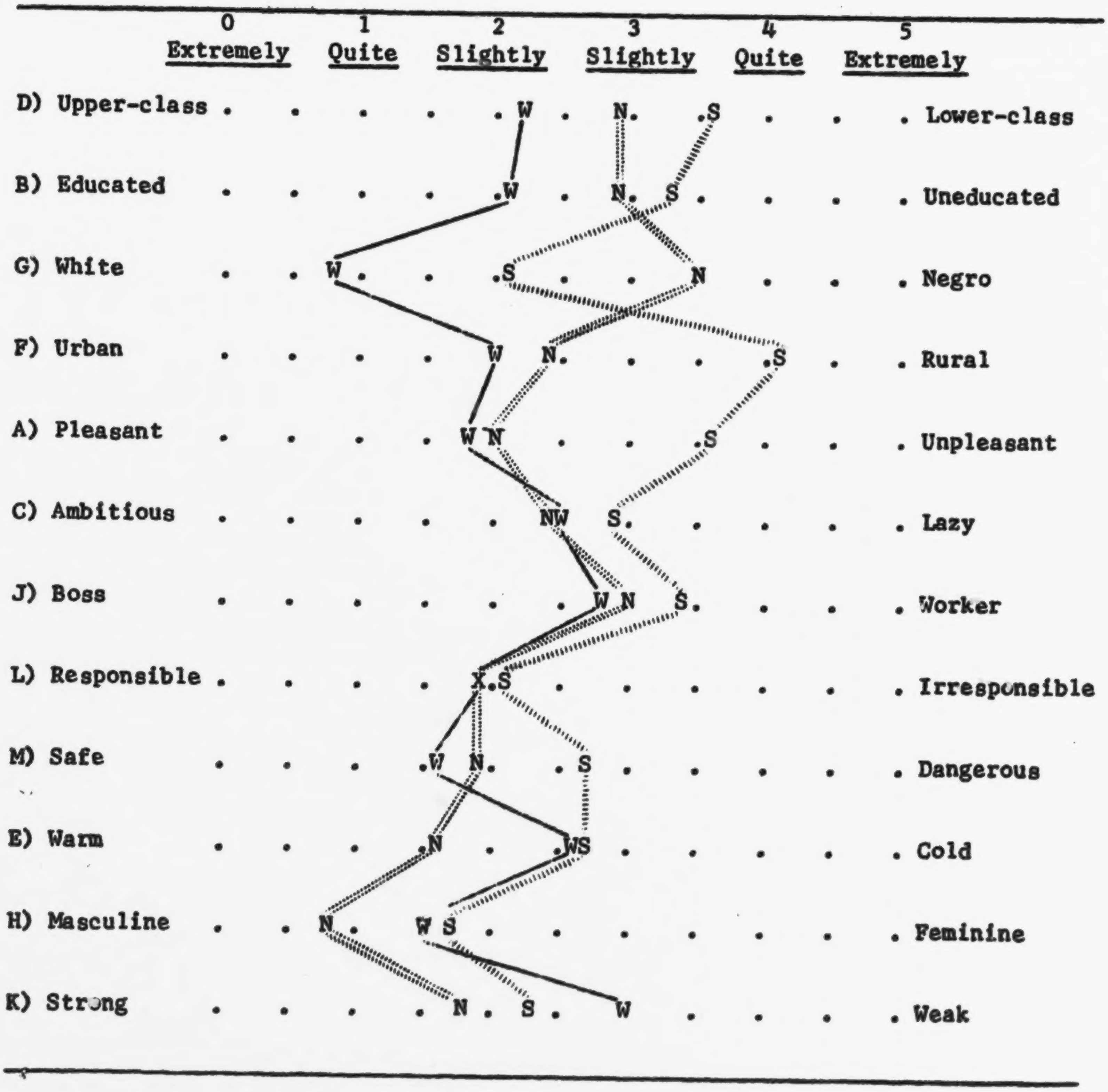
W = 31. [ænt]

N = 26. [ɑnt]

S = 3. [ænt]

Exhibit 1.12--Preliminary Instrument

FOUR



Means for Midwestern Raters

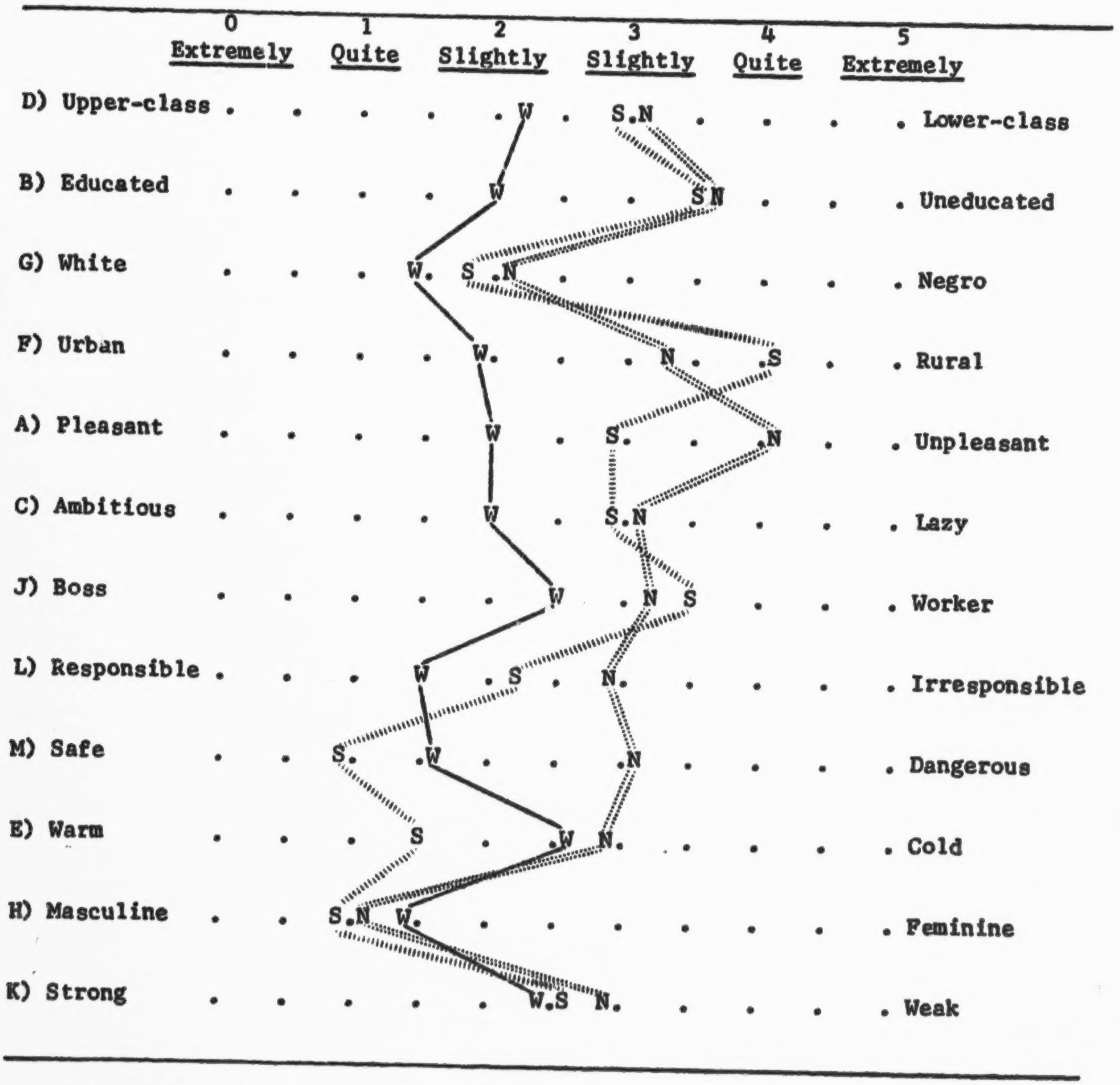
W = 11. [for]

N = 6. [foə]

S = 17. [foˇə]

Exhibit 1.13--Preliminary Instrument

GREASY



Means for Midwestern Raters

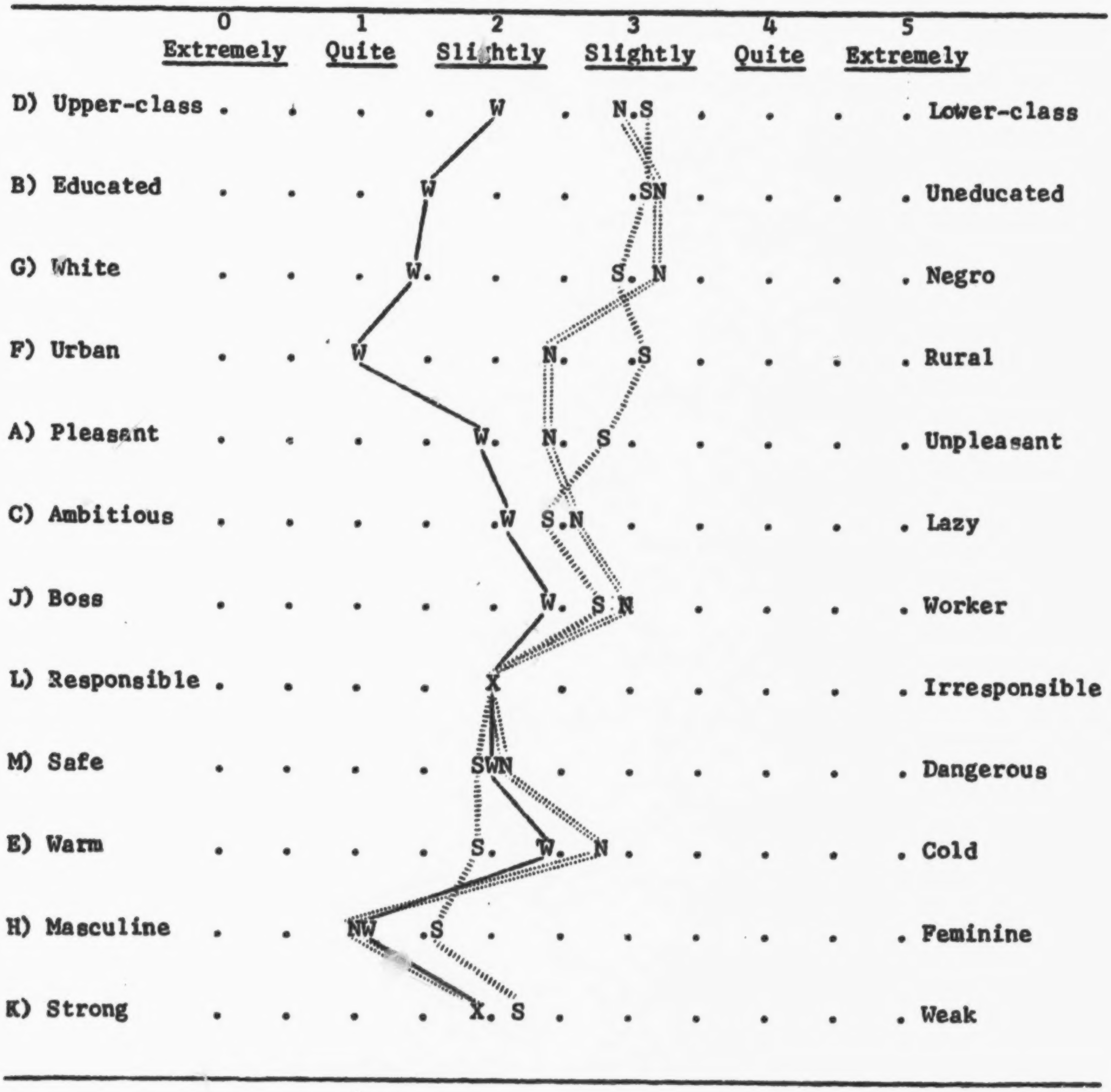
W = 8. [ˈgrisi]

N = 21. [ˈgriz:]

S = 30. [ˈgrizi]

Exhibit 1.14--Preliminary Instrument

POOR



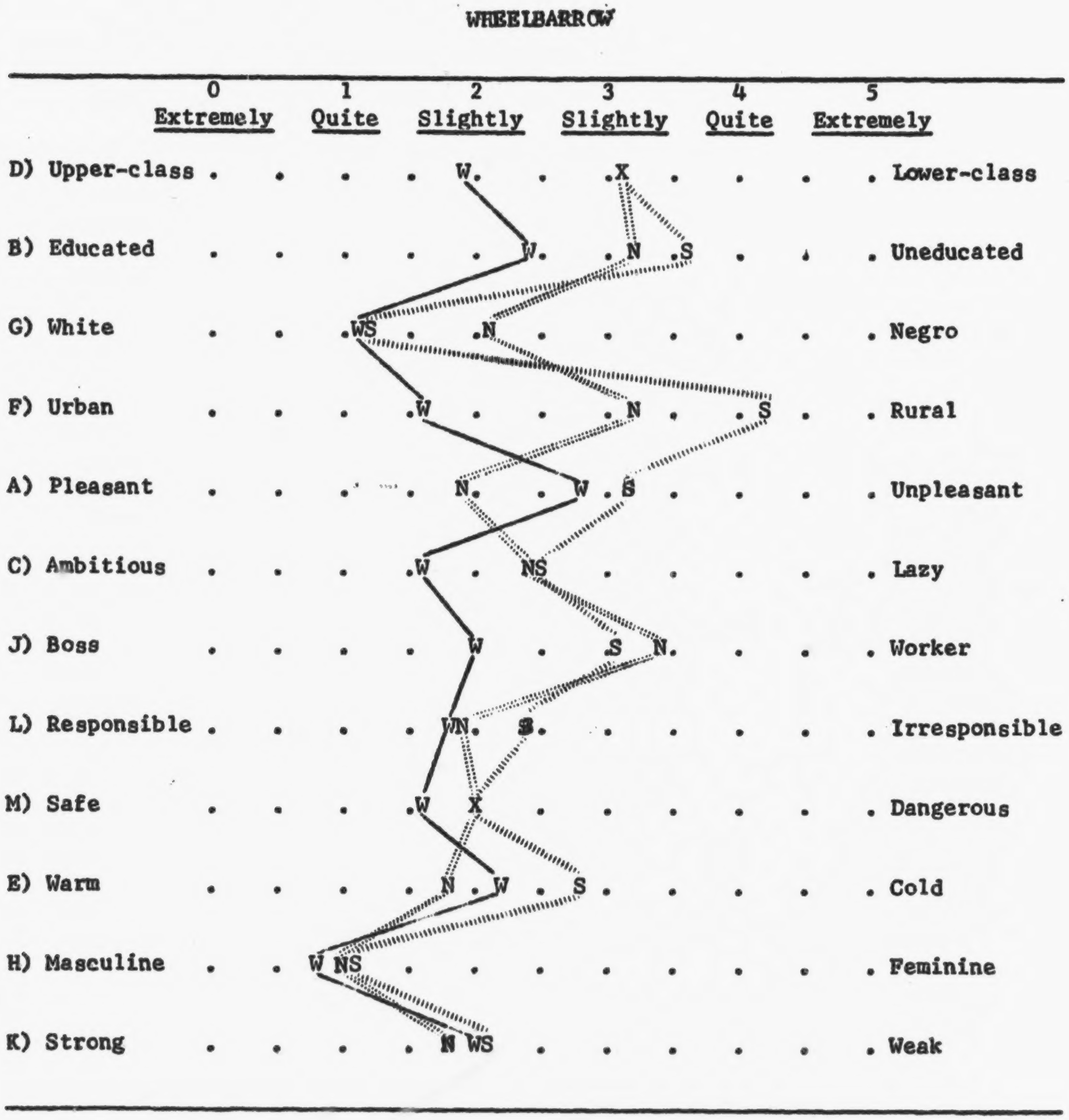
Means for Midwestern Raters

W = 15. [pʊr]

N = 2. [puə]

S = 24. [poə]

Exhibit 1.15--Preliminary Instrument



Means for Midwestern Raters

W = 10. [ˈwilˌbɛro]

N = 4. [ˈʍilˌbɛrə]

S = 19. [ˈʍilˌbɛrə]

Exhibit 1.16--Preliminary Instrument

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SCALES

	Upper-class Lower-class (D)	Educated Uneducated (B)	White Negro (G)	Urban Rural (F)	Pleasant Unpleasant (A)	Ambitious Lazy (C)	Boss Worker (J)	Responsible Irresponsible (L)	Safe Dangerous (M)	Warm Cold (E)	Masculine Feminine (H)	Strong Weak (K)
(D)		75	51	39	20	44	63	25	05	-24	01	14
(B)			46	42	28	53	68	19	19	12	-03	18
(G)				-12	-12	18	42	-06	00	-24	-20	-16
(F)					05	29	35	13	15	-09	-04	07
(A)						20	19	40	42	49	21	26
(C)							42	29	24	15	06	34
(J)								17	17	10	00	26
(L)									34	36	31	34
(M)										40	04	17
(E)											40	33
(H)												42

NOTE: These data are based on an N of 180 (30 responses for each of six raters). Decimal points are not reported in this table.

Exhibit 2.1--Final Instruments

THE INSTRUCTIONS AND SCALES

The instructions for both the five-scale form and the three-scale form of the final instruments were nearly identical to those for the preliminary instrument (Exhibit 1.1). There were, however, two changes worth mention. One--to broaden the applicability of the instruments--was to eliminate the notion of Chicago residence from the first sentence by merely stating: "We want to learn what you think about the way different people pronounce certain words." The other change was intended to acquaint raters with the scales as soon as possible by presenting all the scales in the instructions, rather than just the first two.

The scales were presented for each item in the two forms in the order shown here. Data analysis for the raw scores is reported according to the raw score values shown in the spaces of the scales. In the analysis of deviation scores, the positive numbers refer to the end of the scale with the higher raw scores.

The five-scale form:

RURAL 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : URBAN

WEAK 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : STRONG

PLEASANT 6 : 5 : 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 : UNPLEASANT

WHITE 6 : 5 : 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 : NEGRO

UNEDUCATED 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : EDUCATED

The three-scale form:

EDUCATED 6 : 5 : 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 : UNEDUCATED

NEGRO 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : WHITE

PLEASNAT 6 : 5 : 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 : UNPLEASANT

For consistency, the data reported here shows the scales reordered and numbered the same way for both the three-scale and the five-scale forms:

Scale 1: Rural < Urban
Scale 2: Weak < Strong
Scale 3: Unpleasant < Pleasant
Scale 4: Negro < White
Scale 5: Uneducated < Educated

Exhibit 2.2--Final Instruments

THE QUESTIONS FOR ITEMS

Word	Item Numbers	Question
Aunt	3, 6, 20, 45	Your mother's sister is your ...
Borrow	8, 36, 47	When you don't have something, you may have to ...
Coffee	32,43	At breakfast she puts cream and sugar in her ...
Five	4, 12, 19	Two plus three is ...
Four	2, 42, 44	Two plus two is ...
Genuine	10, 16, 30	If something is not fake, it is ...
Greasy	15, 25, 35	When you spill the butter, the table feels ...
Hotel	7, 18, 33	When you're out of town, you might stay in a ...
Judge	5, 22, 39	He was caught for speeding and had to see the ...
Man	21, 24, 34	A boy grows up into a ...
Married	14, 28, 37, 38	The boy and the girl got engaged to be ...
Push	29, 41, 49	The car wouldn't start, so he had to get a ...
Rinses	13, 17, 50	To get the soapsuds off the dishes, what does the housewife do?
Roof	9, 27, 46	He went up the ladder and walked onto the ...
Room	11, 31, 40	He opened the door and walked into the ...
Tired	23, 26, 48	After a hard day at work, you get ...

Exhibit 2.3--Final Instruments

THE ITEMS

	LN	MN	NE	SO	WH
Ain't I	(This was a practice item tp introduce raters to the scales.)				
Aunt	---	3. [ɑnt]	20. [ænt]	45.[æ̃nt]	6. [ænt]
Borrow	---	8. [ˈbɔro]	---	36. [ˈbɑrə]	47. [ˈbɑro]
Coffee	---	43. [ˈkɑ˃fi]	---	---	32. [ˈkɔ˂fi]
Five	---	12. [fɑᴵv]	---	4. [fa·ᴵv]	19. [fɑɪv]
Four	44. [fo]	---	---	42. [foə]	2. [fɔr]
Genuine	30.[ˈǰenɪʊˌɑɪn]	---	---	16. [ˈǰɛnːʊɪn]	10.[ˈjɛnɪʊɪn]
Greasy	---	25. [ˈgrizi]	35. [ˈgrisi]	15. [ˈgrizɪ]	---
Hotel	---	7. [ˈhoˌtɛl]	---	33. [hoˈtɛl]	18. [hoˈtɛl]
Judge	5. [ˈǰʊ˂ǰ]	---	---	22. [ǰəǰ]	39. [ǰəǰ]
Man	---	21. [mæən]	---	24. [mæən]	34. [mæ̃ən]
Married	---	14. [ˈmæəriˇd]	37. [ˈmɛrid]	28. [ˈmæəriˇd]	38.[ˈmɛrid]
Push	---	49. [pʊ·š]	---	41. [pʊ^š]	29. [pʊš]
Rinses	---	17.[ˈrɛnsɛ^z]	---	13.[ˈrɪˇntsəz]	50.[ˈrɪnsɨz]
Roof	---	46. [ruf]	---	9. [ruf]	27. [rʊf]
Room	---	31. [rʊm]	---	40. [rʊm]	11. [rum]
Tired	---	23. [ˈtɑ·əd]	---	26.[ˈta·ᴵəd]	48. [ˈtɑɪ˜d]

LN = Lower-Class Chicago Negro Pronunciation
MN = Middle-Class Chicago Negro Pronunciation
NE = Negro Giving Middle-Class Chicago White Pronunciation
SO = Southern White (Greenville, S.C.) Pronunciation
WH = White Middle-Class Chicago Pronunciation

LN, MN and NE items were pronunced by the same Negro speaker. All speakers were middle-class, college educated Chicago residents.

Exhibit 2.4--Final Instruments

THE RATERS

The following samples were drawn from approximately 350 raters to whom the final instruments were administered in the Chicago area.

N	Sample
12	Reproducibility Study--University of Chicago seniors and graduate students; diverse dialect backgrounds; no Negroes
242	Chicago and Illinois Residents--White and Negro, high school freshmen through Ph.D; raised and residing in Chicago and nearby suburbs
21	Total Graduate Sample--White and Negro, educated beyond bachelor's degree, raised and residing in Chicago and nearby suburbs, primarily concerned with education
105	Total College Sample--White and Negro, college freshmen through bachelor's degree, raised and residing in Chicago and nearby suburbs, primarily students of University of Chicago and Illinois Teachers College, Chicago (South)
27	Negro College Sample--Students from Illinois Teachers College, Chicago (South), raised and residing in Chicago and nearby suburbs
78	White College Sample--Students from Illinois Teachers College, Chicago (South), and University of Chicago, plus a few college graduates working in the field of education
116	Total High School Sample--White and Negro, from Thornton Fractional Fractional Township High School, North, and Hyde Park High School, raised in Chicago and nearby suburbs
54	Negro High School Sample--Primarily from Hyde Park High School, raised in Chicago and nearby suburbs; generally working class or lower middle class origin
61	White High School Sample--From Thornton Fractional Township High School, North, and Hyde Park High School; raised in Chicago and nearby suburbs; generally working class or lower middle class origins

Exhibit 2.4--Final Instruments (Concluded)

N	Sample
165	Raw Score College Sample--White (N = 131) and Negro (N = 36), educated beyond high school graduation, residing in Chicago and nearby suburbs
144	Raw Score High School Sample--White (N = 79) and Negro (N = 65), students from Thornton Fractional Township, High School, North, and Hyde Park High School

Exhibit 2.5--Final Instruments

REPRODUCIBILITY OF RATINGS

Test-Retest Correlations of Individual Responses (Raw Scores)

N = 120 (12 rates x 10 items)

Scales	First Responses Mean	First Responses S.D.	Second Responses Mean	Second Responses S.D.	r
1. Rural < Urban	3.81	1.43	3.78	1.36	.71
2. Weak < Strong	3.78	1.04	3.88	1.08	.63
3. Unpleasant < Pleasant	3.10	1.11	2.97	1.16	.57
4. Negro < White	3.47	1.47	3.45	1.45	.85
5. Uneducated < Educated	4.07	1.03	3.98	1.03	.70

Test-Retest Correlations of Individual Rater Means (Raw Scores)

N = 12 (12 means, based on 10 items each)

Scales	First Set Mean	First Set S.D.	Second Set Mean	Second Set S.D.	r
1. Rural < Urban	3.81	.56	3.78	.45	.66
2. Weak < Strong	3.78	.48	3.88	.47	.69
3. Unpleasant < Pleasant	3.10	.68	2.97	.68	.84
4. Negro < White	3.47	.54	3.45	.59	.95
5. Uneducated < Educated	4.07	.52	3.98	.43	.74

Exhibit 2.6--Final Instruments

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                                                                                                    PAGE
LARSENS DATA,DEVIATION SCORES, REORDERED AND EQUATED FOR ALL SUBJECTS
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON TOTAL COLLEGE SAMPLE

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VARIABLE     NAME                MEAN      ERROR       N     DEVIATION   ERROR          SKEW   KURTOSIS       MIN       MAX
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

     1    AINT I   PR 1        -0.150      0.101     104       1.030     0.046        -0.238    -1.160       -2.23      1.85
     2                 2        0.005      0.111     105       1.136     0.072        -0.545    -0.324       -3.08      2.33
     3                 3       -0.149      0.127     105       1.300     0.175        -1.389     5.625       -6.92      2.11
     4                 4        0.429      0.095     104       0.972     0.060        -0.178    -0.440       -1.91      2.78
     5                 5       -0.677      0.094     105       0.962     0.058         0.009    -0.491       -3.04      1.34
     6    AUNT     MN 1         0.200      0.112     105       1.147     0.065        -0.408    -0.642       -2.29      3.02
     7                 2        0.080      0.110     104       1.119     0.057        -0.187    -0.922       -2.43      2.33
     8                 3       -0.211      0.105     105       1.075     0.060        -0.025    -0.705       -2.89      2.11
     9                 4        0.040      0.104     105       1.062     0.058        -0.400    -0.754       -2.55      2.03
    10                 5        0.209      0.109     104       1.111     0.064        -0.297    -0.620       -2.35      2.37
    11    AUNT     NE 1        -0.016      0.091     105       0.933     0.049        -0.406    -0.854       -1.93      1.77
    12                 2        0.094      0.080     104       0.812     0.049        -0.310    -0.482       -1.95      1.76
    13                 3       -0.215      0.074     105       0.757     0.048        -0.015    -0.300       -2.25      1.53
    14                 4       -0.551      0.080     105       0.817     0.052         0.328    -0.270       -2.59      1.52
    15                 5       -0.094      0.071     104       0.724     0.046        -0.171    -0.291       -1.95      1.39
    16    AUNT     SO 1        -0.733      0.081     105        .827     0.050         0.645    -0.471       -2.14      1.52
    17                 2       -0.871      0.082     103        .832     0.061         0.116     0.200       -3.62      1.03
    18                 3       -0.698      0.083     105       0.850     0.069        -0.363     0.757       -3.40      1.14
    19                 4        0.411      0.070     105       0.716     0.051        -0.476     0.107       -1.52      2.11
    20                 5       -0.641      0.084     105       0.857     0.051         0.119    -0.540       -2.91      1.29
    21    AUNT     WH 1         0.315      0.094     104       0.955     0.083        -1.134     1.129       -2.98      2.14
    22                 2       -0.156      0.098     105       1.008     0.066        -0.164    -0.222       -3.07      2.03
    23                 3        0.207      0.091     105       0.930     0.065        -0.199     0.066       -2.68      2.62
    24                 4        0.755      0.061     105       0.622     0.052        -1.044     0.990       -1.15      1.76
    25                 5        0.352      0.090     105       0.920     0.060        -0.258    -0.231       -1.94      2.41
    26    BORROW   MN 1        -0.219      0.091     104       0.930     0.054        -0.146    -0.616       -2.86      1.71
    27                 2        0.258      0.098     104       0.996     0.067        -0.557    -0.127       -2.82      2.10
    28                 3       -0.365      0.086     105       0.883     0.057        -0.036    -0.219       -2.68      1.57
    29                 4       -0.565      0.080     105       0.815     0.052         0.375    -0.263       -2.59      1.32
    30                 5       -0.304      0.094     105       0.963     0.059         0.099    -0.399       -2.91      1.90
    31    BORROW   SO 1         0.193      0.078     105       0.804     0.043        -0.524    -0.819       -2.01      1.39
    32                 2       -0.302      0.081     103       0.826     0.051         0.024    -0.448       -2.45      1.57
    33                 3        0.336      0.078     105       0.798     0.055        -0.529    -0.021       -1.83      1.86
    34                 4        0.606      0.061     105       0.625     0.049        -0.498     0.581       -1.34      2.11
    35                 5        0.223      0.082     104       0.831     0.053        -0.506    -0.309       -1.94      1.85
    36    BORROW   WH 1         0.391      0.073     105       0.750     0.059        -0.851     0.586       -2.01      1.71
    37                 2       -0.256      0.092     104       0.943     0.056        -0.101    -0.539       -2.60      2.05
    38                 3        0.207      0.084     105       0.864     0.049        -0.173    -0.664       -1.90      1.94
    39                 4        0.070      0.082     105       0.839     0.046        -0.169    -0.747       -1.96      2.11
    40                 5        0.315      0.076     104       0.773     0.062        -0.863     0.676       -2.08      1.79
    41    COFFEE   MN 1         0.484      0.061     104       0.618     0.045        -0.872     0.222       -1.16      1.47
    42                 2        0.552      0.067     105       0.684     0.043        -0.525    -0.360       -1.13      1.93
    43                 3        0.406      0.080     105       0.824     0.051        -0.381    -0.365       -1.41      2.44
    44                 4       -0.410      0.087     105       0.895     0.044         0.481    -0.971       -2.25      1.48
    45                 5        0.358      0.078     104       0.793     0.095        -1.580     3.908       -3.37      1.50
    46    COFFEE   WH 1         0.416      0.071     105       0.723     0.057        -0.784     0.577       -1.65      1.86
    47                 2       -0.653      0.094     104       0.963     0.055         0.455    -0.647       -2.37      1.73
    48                 3        0.109      0.077     105       0.791     0.052        -0.382    -0.201       -1.94      2.20
    49                 4        0.230      0.070     105       0.719     0.044        -0.371    -0.440       -1.61      1.70
    50                 5        0.317      0.071     104       0.725     0.057        -0.772     0.597       -1.98      1.85
------------SAMPLE SIZE =   105-----------------SKEW STD. ERROR = 0.236--------------------KURTOSIS STD. ERROR = 0.467------------
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LARSENS DATA,DEVIATION SCORES, REORDERED AND EQUATED FOR ALL SUBJECTS
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON TOTAL COLLEGE SAMPLE

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VARIABLE    NAME               MEAN     ERROR      N    DEVIATION   ERROR        SKEW   KURTOSIS     MIN      MAX
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   51     FIVE     MN 1        0.015    0.090    104      0.917     0.045      -0.228    -0.992     -1.68     1.77
   52                 2        0.521    0.077    105      0.794     0.053      -0.687    -0.098     -1.61     1.93
   53                 3        0.097    0.083    105      0.855     0.051      -0.290    -0.524     -2.11     1.75
   54                 4       -1.045    0.082    105      0.838     0.074       1.083     1.293     -2.89     1.85
   55                 5        0.004    0.098    105      1.005     0.071      -0.155     0.116     -3.14     2.37
   56     FIVE     SC 1       -0.223    0.103    105      1.051     0.059      -0.164    -0.673     -3.36     1.70
   57                 2       -0.144    0.095    103      0.960     0.055      -0.124    -0.625     -2.50     1.82
   58                 3        0.403    0.085    105      0.874     0.056      -0.040    -0.298     -1.56     3.02
   59                 4        0.245    0.091    104      0.930     0.050      -0.411    -0.786     -1.96     2.11
   60                 5        0.141    0.090    105      0.924     0.054      -0.163    -0.591     -2.35     2.14
   61     FIVE     WH 1        0.173    0.086    104      0.882     0.074      -0.580     0.931     -2.86     2.50
   62                 2        0.308    0.073    104      0.749     0.052      -0.622     0.035     -2.10     1.70
   63                 3        0.147    0.087    105      0.887     0.049      -0.325    -0.700     -1.97     1.73
   64                 4        0.411    0.064    105      0.657     0.046      -0.739     0.048     -1.39     1.83
   65                 5        0.175    0.077    104      0.732     0.049      -0.369    -0.387     -1.76     1.69
   66     FOLR     LN 1       -0.675    0.095    105      0.972     0.048       0.294    -0.983     -2.54     1.52
   67                 2        0.271    0.089    105      0.914     0.054      -0.607    -0.552     -2.10     1.84
   68                 3       -0.715    0.099    105      1.015     0.082       0.886     0.744     -2.40     2.85
   69                 4       -1.408    0.048    105      0.495     0.075       1.348     7.579     -2.84     1.14
   70                 5       -1.124    0.071    105      0.729     0.053       0.407     0.221     -2.62     1.23
   71     FOLR     SO 1       -0.466    0.105    105      1.079     0.052       0.056    -1.028     -2.89     1.70
   72                 2       -0.067    0.084    104      0.861     0.054      -0.421    -0.344     -2.37     1.65
   73                 3       -0.278    0.096    105      0.982     0.056      -0.006    -0.632     -2.50     1.67
   74                 4        0.168    0.093    105      0.953     0.052      -0.454    -0.730     -2.35     2.11
   75                 5       -0.279    0.099    104      1.013     0.053      -0.074    -0.856     -2.64     1.63
   76     FOLR     WH 1       -0.115    0.104    104      1.060     0.058      -0.252    -0.770     -2.83     1.85
   77                 2        0.277    0.109    105      1.115     0.067      -0.573    -0.476     -2.43     2.33
   78                 3       -0.251    0.116    105      1.192     0.061      -0.034    -0.869     -2.68     2.29
   79                 4        0.083    0.098    105      1.003     0.053      -0.118    -0.806     -1.99     2.48
   80                 5       -0.027    0.098    105      1.009     0.055      -0.314    -0.773     -2.35     2.09
   81     GENUINE  LN 1       -0.897    0.096    105      0.985     0.061       0.831    -0.379     -2.54     1.39
   82                 2        0.469    0.084    105      0.864     0.059      -0.769    -0.011     -1.77     2.05
   83                 3       -0.844    0.091    105      0.936     0.075       0.963     0.709     -2.81     1.75
   84                 4       -1.056    0.087    105      0.896     0.082       1.458     1.490     -2.44     1.72
   85                 5       -1.149    0.085    105      0.874     0.081       0.607     1.640     -3.86     2.02
   86     GENUINE  SO 1        0.360    0.073    105      0.795     0.054      -0.877    -0.096     -1.86     1.52
   87                 2        0.144    0.081    104      0.830     0.052      -0.386    -0.373     -1.98     1.83
   88                 3        0.451    0.073    105      0.864     0.058      -0.444     0.199     -2.34     2.16
   89                 4        0.575    0.056    105      0.573     0.041      -0.366     0.182     -0.99     1.73
   90                 5        0.552    0.070    104      0.709     0.054      -0.580     0.450     -1.87     2.20
   91     GENUINE  WH 1        0.189    0.089    105      0.969     0.047      -0.386    -0.691     -1.81     1.71
   92                 2       -0.468    0.096    104      0.982     0.063       0.419    -0.314     -2.82     2.02
   93                 3        0.160    0.098    105      1.002     0.048      -0.031    -1.054     -1.67     2.34
   94                 4        0.190    0.080    105      0.677     0.045      -0.234    -0.572     -1.62     1.72
   95                 5        0.202    0.093    104      0.952     0.059      -0.374    -0.421     -2.44     2.06
   96     GREASY   MN 1       -0.185    0.090    105      0.924     0.046       0.036    -0.973     -1.84     2.32
   97                 2        0.321    0.078    104      0.799     0.050      -0.558    -0.340     -1.51     1.96
   98                 3       -0.369    0.085    105      0.875     0.056       0.359    -0.276     -2.05     2.35
   99                 4       -1.210    0.074    105      0.761     0.123      -0.908     9.011     -5.44     3.73
  100                 5       -0.284    0.087    105      0.893     0.060       0.171    -0.122     -2.00     2.50
------------SAMPLE SIZE =    105----------------SKEW STD. ERROR = 0.236-------------KURTOSIS STD. ERROR = 0.457------------
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Exhibit 2.6--Final Instruments

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LARSENS DATA,DEVIATION SCORES, REORDERED AND EQUATED FOR ALL SUBJECTS
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON TOTAL COLLEGE SAMPLE

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VARIABLE    NAME                MEAN      ERROR      N     DEVIATION   ERROR          SKEW    KURTOSIS      MIN       MAX
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  101    GREASY   NE 1          0.459     0.074     103      0.750     0.062         -1.018     0.656      -1.98      1.71
  102                 2         0.438     0.070     103      0.713     0.058         -0.766     0.750      -1.99      1.75
  103                 3         0.265     0.081     105      0.633     0.052         -0.321    -0.346      -2.12      1.88
  104                 4        -0.431     0.089     105      0.711     0.051          0.535    -0.707      -1.94      1.88
  105                 5         0.406     0.081     104      0.824     0.056         -0.671    -0.092      -1.85      2.37
  106    GREASY   SO 1         -0.266     0.101     105      1.037     0.050         -0.096    -1.037      -2.51      1.52
  107                 2         0.072     0.086     104      0.877     0.053         -0.142    -0.505      -1.91      2.15
  108                 3        -0.121     0.095     105      0.973     0.058         -0.153    -0.501      -2.50      1.68
  109                 4         0.377     0.085     105      0.874     0.066         -0.855     0.367      -2.44      2.11
  110                 5         0.009     0.106     104      1.078     0.068         -0.256    -0.347      -2.89      2.44
  111    HOTEL    MN 1         -0.451     0.092     104      0.939     0.052          0.355    -0.717      -2.36      1.67
  112                 2         0.140     0.081     104      0.823     0.049         -0.414    -0.510      -1.93      1.91
  113                 3         0.321     0.077     105      0.785     0.061          0.025     0.578      -1.90      2.92
  114                 4        -0.522     0.087     105      0.888     0.045          0.567    -0.928      -1.96      1.36
  115                 5         0.017     0.082     105      0.842     0.053         -0.510    -0.328      -2.40      1.62
  116    HOTEL    SO 1         -0.042     0.105     105      1.076     0.054         -0.323    -0.949      -2.89      1.77
  117                 2         0.261     0.078     104      0.795     0.062         -0.293     0.500      -2.10      2.43
  118                 3         0.521     0.074     105      0.755     0.053         -0.447     0.093      -2.00      2.02
  119                 4         0.675     0.061     105      0.628     0.055         -0.892     1.242      -1.47      2.11
  120                 5         0.497     0.075     104      0.762     0.063         -0.691     0.816      -1.93      2.14
  121    HOTEL    WH 1          0.400     0.079     105      0.811     0.058         -0.717     0.112      -1.81      2.02
  122                 2         0.343     0.067     104      0.685     0.054         -0.313     0.586      -1.46      2.43
  123                 3         0.548     0.081     105      0.832     0.063         -0.664     0.403      -1.88      2.48
  124                 4         0.161     0.071     105      0.725     0.044         -0.380    -0.477      -1.95      1.64
  125                 5         0.706     0.057     105      0.569     0.036         -0.211    -0.458      -0.62      1.99
  126    JUCGE    LN 1         -0.920     0.107     105      1.101     0.074          0.528    -0.112      -3.91      1.64
  127                 2         0.242     0.108     104      1.100     0.062         -0.525    -0.689      -2.36      2.10
  128                 3        -0.705     0.091     105      0.931     0.054          0.201    -0.599      -2.68      1.55
  129                 4        -1.125     0.079     105      0.812     0.081          1.387     2.141      -2.59      1.85
  130                 5        -1.158     0.089     105      0.909     0.079          0.920     1.177      -3.39      1.60
  131    JUCGE    SO 1          0.665     0.072     104      0.730     0.063         -1.199     1.131      -1.66      1.91
  132                 2         0.053     0.087     105      0.893     0.053         -0.282    -0.541      -2.53      1.98
  133                 3         0.878     0.072     105      0.742     0.070         -0.862     1.739      -1.78      2.65
  134                 4         0.830     0.065     105      0.661     0.058         -1.093     1.227      -1.34      1.96
  135                 5         0.927     0.062     104      0.630     0.058         -0.952     1.564      -1.34      2.09
  136    JUCGE    WH 1         -0.071     0.096     105      0.988     0.051         -0.279    -0.876      -2.48      1.68
  137                 2        -0.385     0.091     105      0.934     0.057          0.210    -0.430      -2.53      1.83
  138                 3        -0.312     0.090     105      0.922     0.059         -0.368    -0.297      -2.86      1.75
  139                 4         0.637     0.061     105      0.628     0.066         -0.800     2.673      -1.96      2.41
  140                 5        -0.241     0.092     105      0.943     0.064         -0.526    -0.090      -2.89      1.78
  141    MAN      MN 1         -0.362     0.087     105      0.896     0.043         -0.067    -1.024      -2.49      1.44
  142                 2         0.301     0.090     104      0.915     0.057         -0.478    -0.408      -1.93      2.46
  143                 3        -0.640     0.073     105      0.744     0.050          0.342    -0.109      -2.38      1.41
  144                 4        -0.820     0.068     105      0.694     0.043          0.592    -0.361      -1.99      1.03
  145                 5        -0.495     0.083     104      0.849     0.048         -0.047    -0.693      -2.46      1.20
  146    MAN      SO 1         -0.283     0.084     105      0.861     0.050         -0.230    -0.558      -2.65      1.24
  147                 2        -0.384     0.080     103      0.815     0.048         -0.025    -0.568      -2.52      1.50
  148                 3        -0.700     0.093     105      0.950     0.074          0.153     0.572      -3.36      2.40
  149                 4         0.267     0.072     105      0.735     0.046         -0.405    -0.324      -1.59      1.87
  150                 5        -0.425     0.080     104      0.815     0.051          0.059    -0.382      -2.10      1.60
------------SAMPLE SIZE =    105-----------------SKEW STD. ERROR = 0.236------------------KURTOSIS STD. ERROR = 0.467-------------
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Exhibit 2.6--Final Instruments

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                                                                                        PAGE
LARSENS D[illegible]DEVIATION SCORES, REORDERED AND EQUATED FOR ALL SUBJECTS
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON TOTAL COLLEGE SAMPLE

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
VARIABLE   NAME               MEAN     ERROR      N    DEVIATION   ERROR        SKEW  KURTOSIS    MIN     MAX
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  151    MAN        WH 1      0.109    0.073     105     0.751     0.073      -1.160    1.944    -2.86    1.29
  152                  2     -0.378    0.088     105     0.838     0.046       0.011   -0.882    -2.49    1.24
  153                  3      0.092    0.076     105     0.779     0.042      -0.029   -0.757    -1.59    1.88
  154                  4     -0.179    0.067     105     0.686     0.038       0.172   -0.743    -1.55    1.45
  155                  5      0.029    0.079     105     0.810     0.048      -0.508   -0.518    -2.10    1.41
  156    MARRIED MN 1        -0.911    0.090     105     0.919     0.060       0.695   -0.202    -2.66    1.37
  157                  2      0.227    0.095     105     0.973     0.060      -0.652   -0.422    -2.33    1.74
  158                  3     -0.757    0.085     105     0.875     0.061       0.623    0.035    -2.38    2.08
  159                  4     -1.275    0.070     105     0.718     0.096       1.670    5.484    -2.96    1.96
  160                  5     -1.183    0.085     105     0.871     0.081       0.901    1.639    -3.16    1.75
  161    MARRIED NE 1        -0.295    0.077     103     0.784     0.047      -0.350   -0.506    -2.25    1.12
  162                  2     -1.150    0.124     104     1.267     0.256       2.581   15.017    -3.71    6.92
  163                  3     -0.432    0.084     105     0.901     0.052       0.223   -0.618    -2.22    1.89
  164                  4     -0.409    0.071     105     0.725     0.051       0.308    0.041    -1.96    1.60
  165                  5     -0.393    0.077     104     0.805     0.054      -0.188   -0.148    -2.84    1.40
  166    MARRIED SC 1         0.091    0.071     104     0.720     0.053      -0.609    0.259    -2.04    1.41
  167                  2     -0.412    0.071     105     0.723     0.045      -0.139   -0.371    -2.06    1.24
  168                  3      0.351    0.064     105     0.660     0.040      -0.264   -0.451    -1.41    1.68
  169                  4      0.137    0.065     105     0.670     0.039      -0.158   -0.596    -1.39    1.52
  170                  5      0.142    0.081     104     0.826     0.051      -0.276   -0.414    -1.95    1.87
  171    MARRIED WH 1         0.818    0.058     105     0.590     0.078      -1.814    5.375    -1.90    1.84
  172                  2      0.643    0.066     105     0.677     0.053      -0.147    0.603    -1.31    2.69
  173                  3      0.735    0.084     105     0.860     0.069      -0.914    0.711    -2.04    2.44
  174                  4      0.706    0.070     105     0.716     0.067      -1.375    1.649    -1.34    1.70
  175                  5      0.953    0.064     105     0.652     0.070      -1.076    2.883    -1.73    2.49
  176    PUSH       MN 1      0.457    0.061     104     0.621     0.055      -0.884    1.250    -1.86    1.69
  177                  2      0.650    0.060     103     0.612     0.045      -0.517    0.268    -1.11    1.82
  178                  3      0.585    0.070     105     0.713     0.066      -0.910    1.629    -2.00    2.02
  179                  4      0.029    0.078     105     0.822     0.035      -0.225   -1.199    -1.57    1.38
  180                  5      0.620    0.057     104     0.577     0.047      -0.652    0.601    -1.48    1.80
  181    PUSH       SC 1     -0.044    0.074     105     0.762     0.039      -0.261   -0.683    -1.80    1.43
  182                  2     -0.264    0.070     104     0.710     0.049      -0.157    0.002    -2.02    1.51
  183                  3      0.448    0.066     105     0.671     0.045       0.068   -0.130    -0.90    2.47
  184                  4      0.449    0.064     105     0.654     0.046      -0.709    0.056    -1.34    1.76
  185                  5      0.264    0.059     104     0.603     0.033      -0.112   -0.773    -0.95    1.56
  186    PUSH       WH 1      0.570    0.065     104     0.666     0.082      -1.432    4.236    -2.29    2.14
  187                  2      0.178    0.068     104     0.695     0.050      -0.530    0.173    -2.06    1.60
  188                  3      0.471    0.071     105     0.729     0.061      -0.509    0.993    -2.11    2.35
  189                  4      0.224    0.068     105     0.694     0.037      -0.475   -0.805    -1.32    1.36
  190                  5      0.430    0.057     105     0.589     0.040      -0.286   -0.107    -1.19    2.02
  191    RINSES     MN 1      0.742    0.077     105     0.784     0.074      -1.157    1.743    -1.73    2.32
  192                  2      0.809    0.086     104     0.877     0.073      -0.839    0.050    -1.97    2.99
  193                  3      0.258    0.113     105     1.155     0.068      -0.158   -0.333    -2.58    3.04
  194                  4      0.524    0.081     105     0.830     0.060      -0.744    0.142    -1.75    2.50
  195                  5      0.628    0.099     105     1.017     0.065      -0.796   -0.293    -1.85    2.50
  196    RINSES     SC 1      0.460    0.072     105     0.741     0.052      -0.827    0.097    -1.55    1.91
  197                  2     -0.386    0.095     105     0.975     0.062       0.052   -0.318    -3.33    2.53
  198                  3      0.335    0.075     105     0.767     0.058      -0.734    0.440    -2.00    1.73
  199                  4      0.738    0.051     105     0.594     0.056      -0.800    1.665    -1.15    2.41
  200                  5      0.325    0.076     104     0.779     0.047      -0.443   -0.510    -1.53    1.78
------------SAMPLE SIZE =   105-----------------SKEW STD. ERROR = 0.236-----------------KURTOSIS STD. ERROR = 0.457--------------
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Exhibit 2.6--Final Instruments PAGE

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LARSENS DA  DEVIATION SCORES, REORDERED AND EQUATED FOR ALL SUBJECTS
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ON TOTAL COLLEGE SAMPLE

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VARIABLE    NAME                MEAN     ERROR       N     DEVIATION   ERROR          SKEW   KURTOSIS      MIN       MAX
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  201     RINSES   WH 1        0.733     0.053     105       0.545     0.050        -0.775    1.556      -1.17      2.15
  202                 2       -0.209     0.095     104       0.965     0.064        -0.350   -0.176      -2.89      1.73
  203                 3        0.574     0.071     105       0.727     0.052        -0.556    0.128      -1.44      1.99
  204                 4        0.691     0.068     105       0.697     0.072        -1.361    2.492      -1.96      1.88
  205                 5        0.573     0.060     105       0.618     0.056        -0.755    1.471      -1.60      2.09
  206     ROCF     MN 1        0.322     0.063     105       0.647     0.059        -0.882    1.503      -2.01      1.64
  207                 2        0.505     0.072     105       0.733     0.079        -1.278    2.825      -2.54      1.84
  208                 3        0.234     0.073     105       0.751     0.051        -0.299   -0.092      -1.83      1.89
  209                 4       -0.298     0.078     104       0.794     0.043         0.337   -0.794      -1.85      1.69
  210                 5        0.343     0.064     104       0.655     0.053        -0.800    0.723      -1.99      1.52
  211     ROCF     SO 1       -0.409     0.094     105       0.967     0.050         0.003   -0.891      -2.72      1.62
  212                 2       -0.347     0.095     105       0.973     0.065        -0.073   -0.139      -2.91      2.03
  213                 3       -0.278     0.087     105       0.892     0.069         0.560    0.531      -1.95      2.94
  214                 4        0.572     0.068     105       0.694     0.051        -0.795    0.280      -1.34      1.83
  215                 5       -0.263     0.090     104       0.918     0.055        -0.032   -0.489      -2.16      2.30
  216     ROCF     WH 1        0.398     0.080     105       0.821     0.068        -0.900    0.892      -2.08      2.15
  217                 2       -0.080     0.079     105       0.808     0.052         0.184   -0.258      -1.89      1.96
  218                 3        0.204     0.088     105       0.900     0.049        -0.177   -0.763      -1.95      1.97
  219                 4        0.111     0.076     105       0.775     0.041        -0.381   -0.808      -1.84      1.52
  220                 5        0.279     0.072     105       0.735     0.045        -0.149   -0.402      -1.35      1.90
  221     ROCM     MN 1        0.110     0.073     105       0.746     0.048        -0.729   -0.254      -1.85      1.36
  222                 2        0.076     0.081     104       0.828     0.046        -0.423   -0.694      -1.72      1.57
  223                 3       -0.274     0.083     105       0.854     0.049         0.187   -0.610      -2.00      1.71
  224                 4        0.113     0.067     105       0.690     0.038        -0.320   -0.706      -1.39      1.41
  225                 5        0.008     0.078     105       0.795     0.050        -0.304   -0.328      -1.95      1.80
  226     ROCM     SO 1       -0.116     0.088     105       0.904     0.042        -0.259   -1.109      -1.93      1.45
  227                 2       -0.230     0.085     104       0.863     0.060        -0.438    0.025      -2.82      1.35
  228                 3       -0.104     0.080     105       0.817     0.051         0.284   -0.393      -1.66      2.18
  229                 4        0.574     0.070     105       0.721     0.058        -0.889    0.703      -1.59      1.87
  230                 5        0.006     0.081     104       0.830     0.057        -0.241   -0.070      -2.43      1.80
  231     ROCM     WH 1       -0.273     0.078     104       0.794     0.049        -0.171   -0.429      -2.29      1.22
  232                 2       -1.476     0.088     105       0.903     0.072         0.629    0.644      -3.20      1.50
  233                 3       -0.766     0.083     105       0.852     0.054         0.525   -0.336      -2.38      1.40
  234                 4       -0.267     0.070     105       0.713     0.041         0.096   -0.589      -1.96      1.29
  235                 5       -0.644     0.077     104       0.785     0.052         0.295   -0.194      -2.43      1.42
  236     TIRED    MN 1       -0.506     0.093     105       0.951     0.041         0.302   -1.235      -2.14      1.38
  237                 2        0.372     0.079     105       0.817     0.053        -0.575   -0.226      -1.51      1.73
  238                 3       -0.311     0.082     105       0.839     0.051         0.179   -0.436      -2.25      1.73
  239                 4       -1.157     0.062     105       0.631     0.065         1.286    2.518      -2.55      1.14
  240                 5       -0.576     0.082     104       0.835     0.048         0.330   -0.646      -2.18      1.29
  241     TIRED    SO 1       -1.223     0.078     105       0.799     0.066         0.442    0.874      -3.59      0.94
  242                 2       -0.466     0.085     104       0.675     0.050         0.174   -0.655      -2.58      1.73
  243                 3       -0.643     0.078     105       0.800     0.058         0.688    0.176      -2.01      1.86
  244                 4       -0.005     0.094     105       0.965     0.043        -0.033   -1.155      -1.86      1.96
  245                 5       -0.874     0.084     105       0.864     0.058         0.633   -0.131      -2.43      1.25
  246     TIRED    WH 1        0.789     0.064     104       0.656     0.071        -1.411    2.861      -1.46      2.15
  247                 2        0.442     0.069     105       0.706     0.058        -0.768    0.809      -2.06      1.75
  248                 3        0.765     0.077     105       0.784     0.045        -0.267   -0.596      -1.24      2.39
  249                 4        0.699     0.065     105       0.662     0.048        -0.638    0.236      -1.18      1.97
  250                 5        0.828     0.062     105       0.635     0.046        -0.283    0.243      -0.85      2.34
------------SAMPLE SIZE =   105----------------SKEW STD. ERROR = 0.236-------------------KURTOSIS STD. ERROR = 0.457-------------
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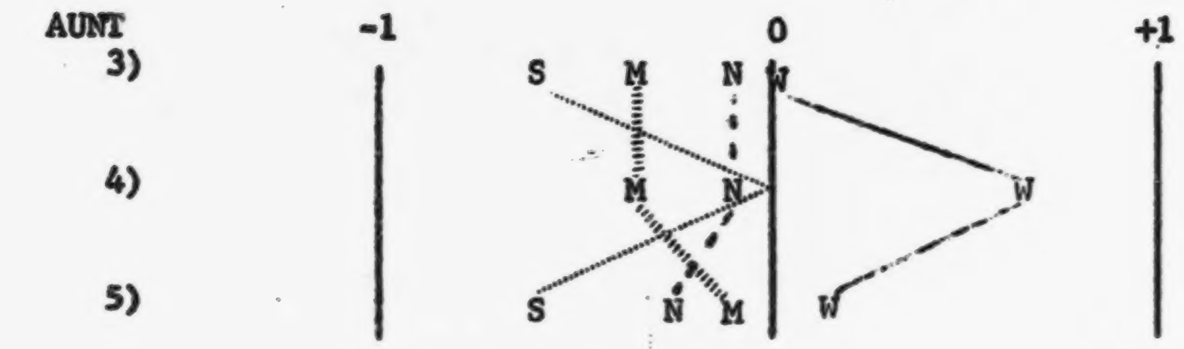
Exhibit 2.7--Final Instruments

RATINGS BY 116 HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS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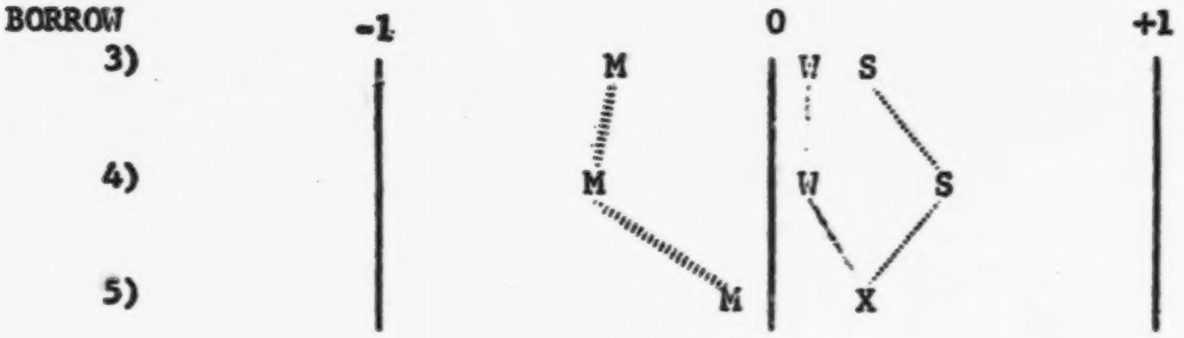
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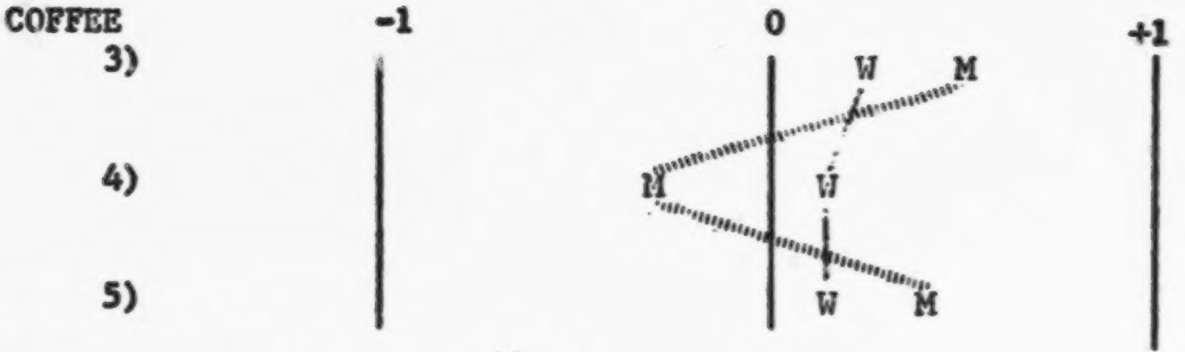
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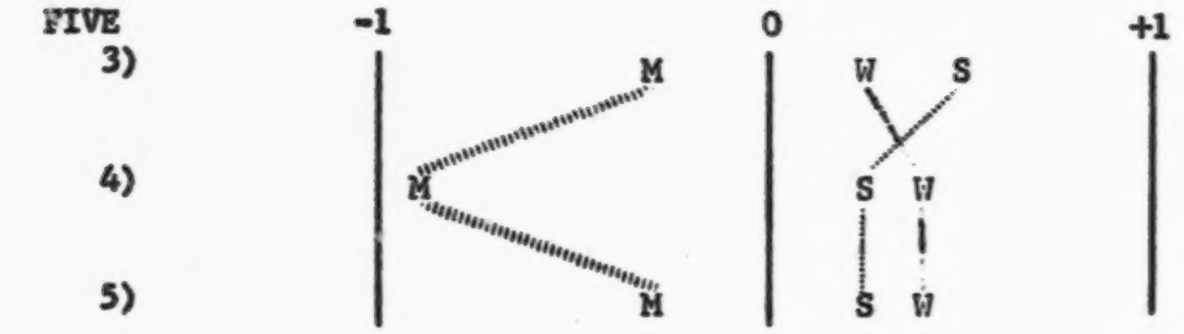
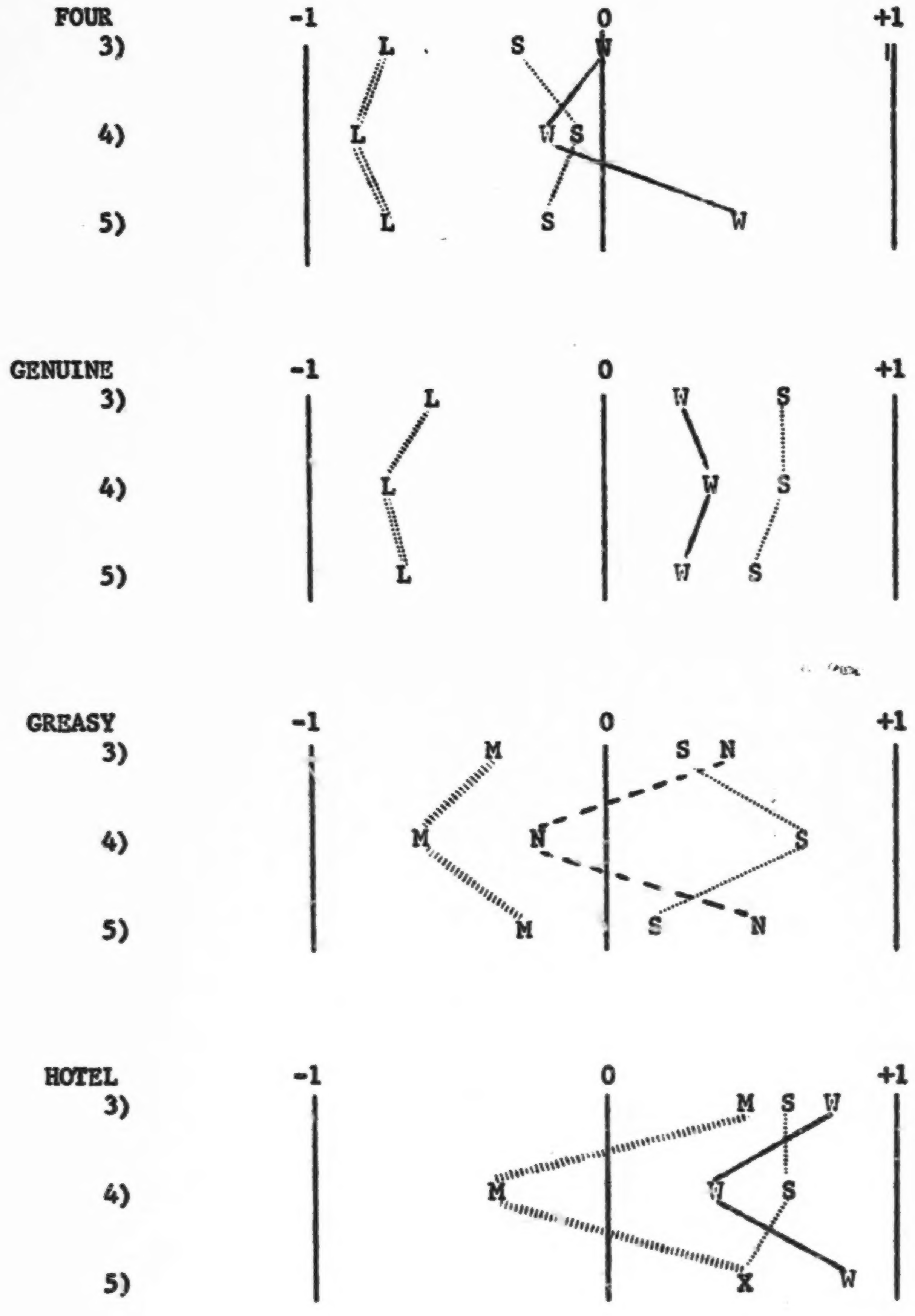

FIVE

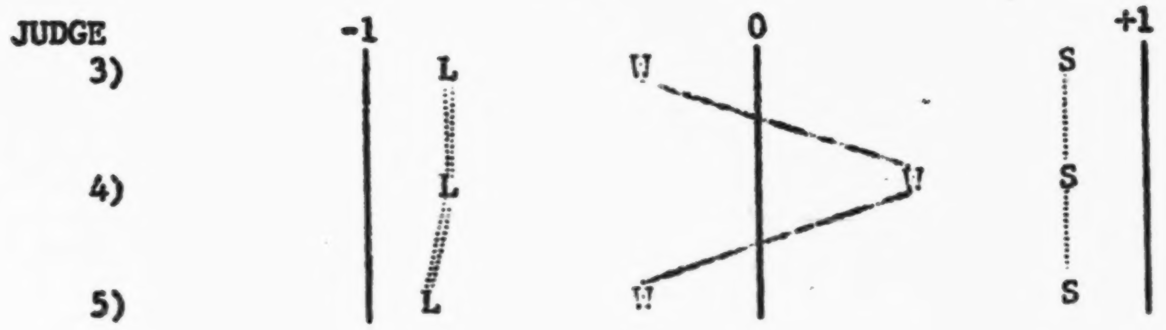
Scale 3: Unpleasant < Pleasant
Scale 4: Negro < White
Scale 5: Uneducated < Educated

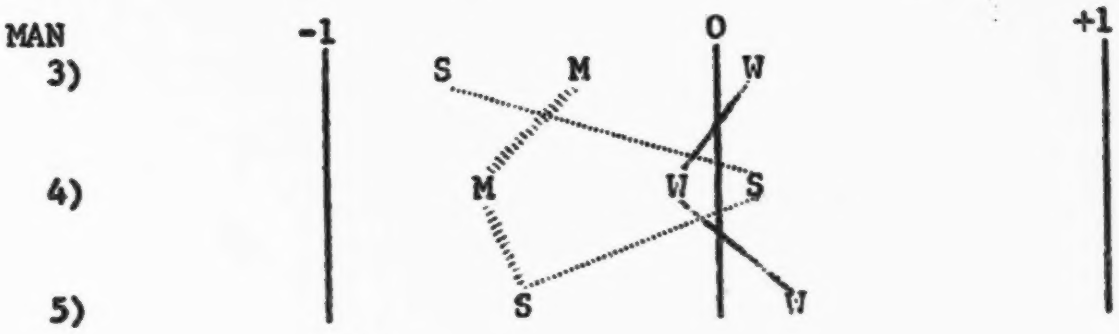
Exhibit 2.7 (Cont'd.)

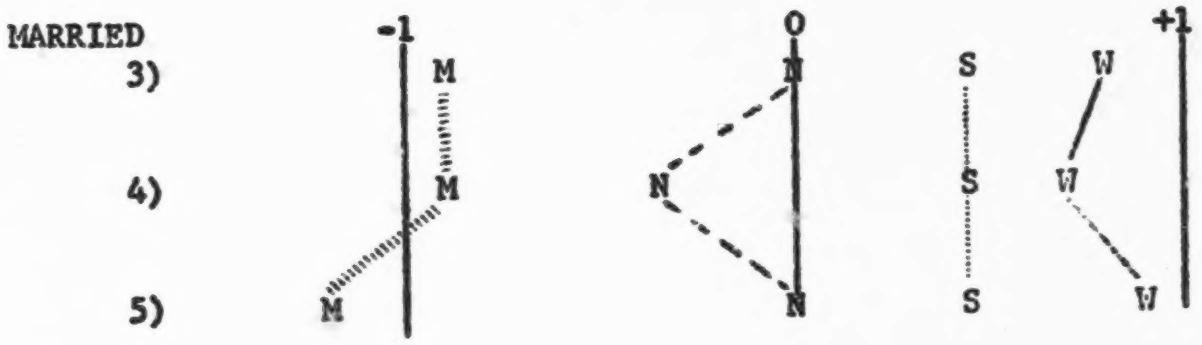


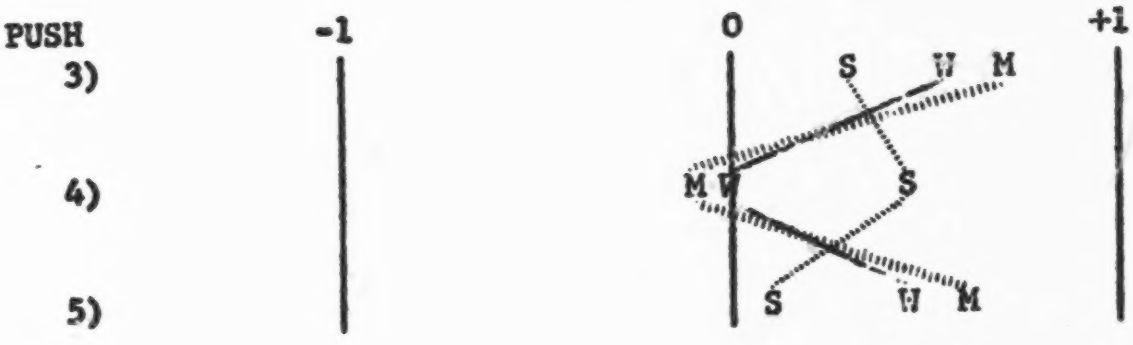
Scale 3: Unpleasant < Pleasant
Scale 4: Negro < White
Scale 5: Uneducated < Educated

Exhibit 2.7(Cont'd)





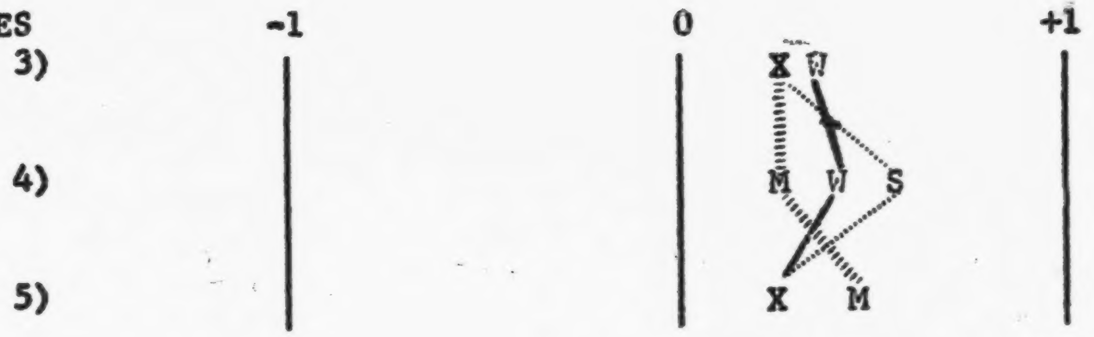




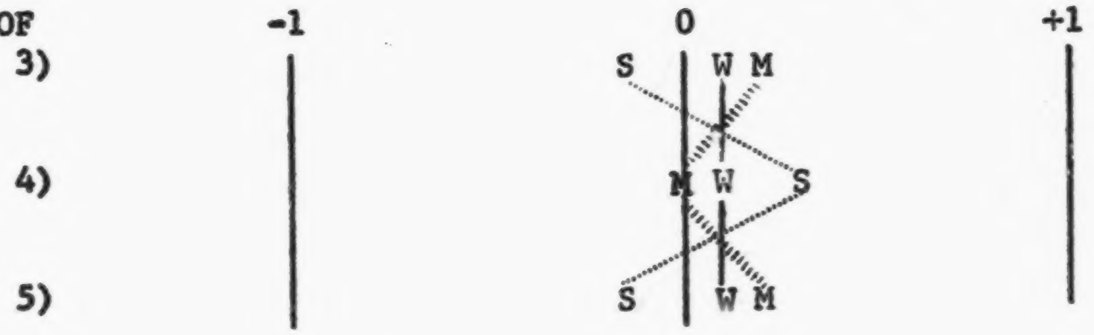
Scale 3: Unpleasant < Pleasant
Scale 4: Negro < White
Scale 5: Uneducated < Educated

Exhibit 2.7 (Concluded)

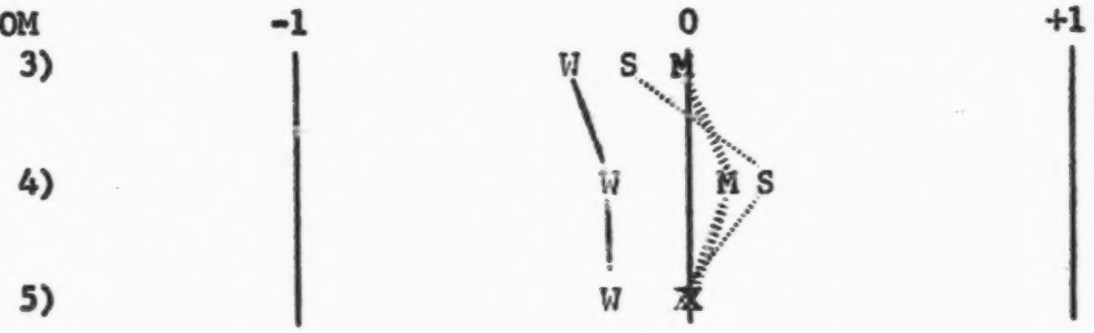
RINSES



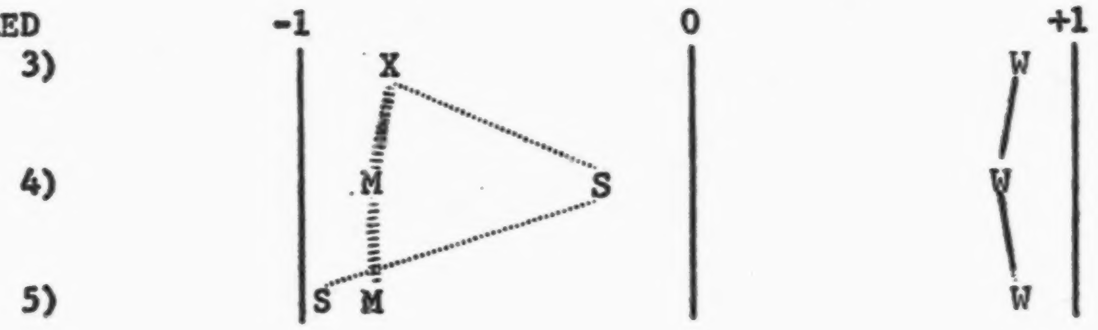
ROOF



ROOM



TIRED



Scale 3: Unpleasant < Pleasant
Scale 4: Negro < White
Scale 5: Uneducated < Educated

Exhibit 2.8--Final Instruments

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATINGS: WH VS. MN

WORD	SAMPLE	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (WH-MN)				
		SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Aunt	Ill. Total				.91	
	Col. Total				.75	
	H.S. Total				1.02	
	H.S. White				.78	
	H.S. Negro				1.26	
Borrow	Ill. Total	.64	- .46	.54	.60	.43
	Col. Total	.61	- .51	.57	.57	.62
	H.S. Total			.51	.52	(.25)
	H.S. White			(.30)	(.62)	(.00)
	H.S. Negro			.75	(.37)	(.50)
Coffee	Ill. Total		-1.14		.52	
	Col. Total		-1.20		.54	
	H.S. Total				(.41)	
	H.S. White				(.40)	
	H.S. Negro				(.42)	
Five	Ill. Total				1.38	
	Col. Total				1.46	
	H.S. Total				1.26	
	H.S. White				1.64	
	H.S. Negro				.86	
Hotel	Ill. Total	.86			.72	.49
	Col. Total	.85			.68	.69
	H.S. Total				.67	(.32)
	H.S. White				.76	(.48)
	H.S. Negro				(.57)	(.13)
Man	Ill. Total	.47	- .57	.65	.60	.62
	Col. Total	(.47)	- .68	.73	.64	.52
	H.S. Total			.52	.54	.69
	H.S. White			(.66)	.74	(.61)
	H.S. Negro			(.36)	(.31)	.76)
Married	Ill. Total	1.72		1.50	1.78	2.03
	Col. Total	1.73		1.49	1.98	2.14
	H.S. Total			1.58	1.54	1.94
	H.S. White			1.44	1.86	1.71
	H.S. Negro			1.70	1.17	2.21

Exhibit 2.8--Final Instruments (Concluded)

WORD	SAMPLE	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (WH-MN)				
		SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Push	Ill. Total		-.44			
	Col. Total		(-.47)			
	H.S. Total					
	H.S. White					
	H.S. Negro					
Rinses	Ill. Total		-1.05			
	Col. Total		-1.02			
	H.S. Total					
	H.S. White					
	H.S. Negro					
Roof	Ill. Total		- .57			
	Col. Total		- .51			
	H.S. Total					
	H.S. White					
	H.S. Negro					
Room	Ill. Total		-1.52	-.43	-.46	-.51
	Col. Total		-1.55	(-.49)	(-.38)	-.65
	H.S. Total			(-.37)	-.51	(-.36)
	H.S. White			(-.46)	(-.36)	(-.40)
	H.S. Negro			(-.25)	(-.66)	(-.29)
Tired	Ill. Total	1.29		1.21	1.68	1.46
	Col. Total	1.30		1.08	1.86	1.40
	H.S. Total			1.36	1.42	1.50
	H.S. White			1.40	1.63	1.55
	H.S. Negro			1.28	.98	1.45

NOTES: Scales 1 and 2 were not used by the high school raters.

Ill. Total, N = 242; significant difference (.01 level) is approx. .40.
Col. Total, N = 105; significant difference (.01 level) is approx. .50.
H.S. Total, N = 116; significant difference (.01 level) is approx. .50.
H.S. White, N = 61; significant difference (.01 level) is approx. .70.
H.S. Negro, N = 54; significant difference (.01 level) is approx. .70.

Values shown in parentheses are not significant. They are given only for comparison.

Exhibit 2.9--Final Instruments

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATINGS: WH VS. LN, AND WH VS. NE

		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (WH-LN)				
WORD	SAMPLE	SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Four	Ill. Total	.59		.61	1.11	1.20
	Col. Total	.56		(.46)	1.49	1.10
	H.S. Total			.74	.62	1.22
	H.S. White			(.31)	(.69)	.98
	H.S. Negro			1.26	(.55)	1.49
Genuine	Ill. Total	1.18	-.86	.96	1.14	1.20
	Col. Total	1.09	-.94	1.00	1.25	1.35
	H.S. Total			.78	1.07	.89
	H.S. White			.87	1.61	1.10
	H.S. Negro			(.65)	(.45)	(.64)
Judge	Ill. Total	.95	-.55	.42	1.48	.76
	Col. Total	.85	-.63	(.39)	1.76	.92
	H.S. Total			(.46)	1.13	.61
	H.S. White			(.52)	1.19	(.50)
	H.S. Negro			(.41)	1.08	.70

		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (WH-NE)				
WORD	SAMPLE	SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Aunt	Ill. Total				1.08	.43
	Col. Total				1.31	(.44)
	H.S. Total				.78	(.43)
	H.S. White				(.68)	(.60)
	H.S. Negro				.91	(.21)
Married	Ill. Total	1.10	1.76	.93	1.08	1.06
	Col. Total	1.11	1.79	1.17	1.12	1.35
	H.S. Total			.73	1.03	.75
	H.S. White			1.00	1.07	.99
	H.S. Negro			(.40)	.98	(.45)

NOTES: Scales 1 and 2 were not used by high school raters.
Pronunciations WH and NE are phonetically identical.

Ill. Total, N = 242; significant difference (.01 level)is approx. .40
Col. Total, N = 105; significant difference (.01 level)is approx. .50
H.S. Total, N = 116; significant difference (.01 level)is approx. .50
H.S. White, N = 61; significant difference (.01 level)is approx. .70
H.S. Negro, N = 54; significant difference (.01 level)is approx. .70

Values in parentheses are not significant, but are shown for comparison.

Exhibit 2.10--Final Instruments

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATINGS: SO VS. MN

WORD	SAMPLE	SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (SO-MN)				
		SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Aunt	Col. Total	-.93	-.93			-.85
	H.S. Total					(-.48)
Borrow	Col. Total		-.56	.70	1.17	.53
	H.S. Total			.59	.92	(.33)
Five	Col. Total		-.66		1.29	
	H.S. Total				1.15	
*Greasy	Col. Total			(.25)	1.59	
	H.S. Total			.59	1.28	
Hotel	Col. Total				1.20	
	H.S. Total				.88	
*Man	Col. Total			-.68	1.09	
	H.S. Total				.74	
*Married	Col. Total	1.00	-.64	1.11	1.41	1.32
	H.S. Total			1.34	1.27	1.56
Push	Col. Total	-.50	-.91			
	H.S. Total					
Rinses	Col. Total		-1.20			
	H.S. Total					
*Roof	Col. Total	-.73	-.85	-.51	.87	-.61
	H.S. Total			(-.47)	(.45)	-.67
*Room	Col. Total					
	H.S. Total					
Tired	Col. Total	-.71	-.84		1.15	
	H.S. Total				.62	

NOTES: Scales 1 and 2 were not used by high school raters.
Asterisk indicates that SO and MN pronunciations are similar.

Col. Total, N = 105.
H.S. Total, N = 116.
Significant difference (.01 level) is approximately .50.

Values shown in parentheses are not significant. They are given only for comparison.

Exhibit 2.11--Final Instruments

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RATINGS: SO VS. LN, SO VS. NE, AND NE VS. MN

		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (SO-LN)				
WORD	SAMPLE	SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Four	Col. Total				1.58	.84
	H.S. Total				.76	.61
Genuine	Col. Total	1.26		1.30	1.63	1.70
	H.S. Total			1.10	1.27	1.16
Judge	Col. Total	1.58		1.58	1.96	2.08
	H.S. Total			1.58	1.56	1.73

		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (SO-NE)				
WORD	SAMPLE	SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Aunt	Col. Total	-.72	-.96		.96	-.56
	H.S. Total				(.22)	(-.32)
Greasy	Col. Total	-.72			.81	
	H.S. Total				.73	
Married	Col. Total		.74	.78	.55	.54
	H.S. Total			(.49)	.76	(.37)

		SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES (NE-MN)				
WORD	SAMPLE	SCALE 1	SCALE 2	SCALE 3	SCALE 4	SCALE 5
Aunt	Col. Total				-.59	
	H.S. Total				(.24)	
Greasy	Col. Total	.64		.63	.78	.69
	H.S. Total			.71	.54	.67
Married	Col. Total	.62	-1.38	(.32)	.87	.79
	H.S. Total			.84	.51	1.19

NOTES: Scales 1 and 2 were not used by high school raters.

Col. Total, N = 105.
H.S. Total, N = 116.
Significant difference (.01 level) is approximately .50.

Values shown in parentheses are not significant. They are given only for comparison.

Exhibit 2.12--Final Instruments

SIGNIFICANT RAW SCORE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WHITE AND NEGRO RATERS

Word	Sample	Pron LN Scale					Pron MN Scale					Pron NE Scale					Pron SO Scale					Pron WH Scale				
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Aunt	Col.	-	-	-	-	-	A				a				A		a		A		a	A	a		A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		A	a	-	-		A		-	-				-	-			a
Borrow	Col.	-	-	-	-	-						-	-	-	-	-									A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		A		-	-	-	-	-	-	-		a		-	-	b	A	B
Coffee	Col.	-	-	-	-	-	b					-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		b	a	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	a	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	A	B
Five	Col.	-	-	-	-	-					a	-	-	-	-	-									a	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		B		-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-			
Four	Col.	A		A		A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	b	b			b				A	
	H.S.	-	-	a			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	b		B	-	-	B		B
Genuine	Col.						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				A	a				A	
	H.S.	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	b			-	-		A	
Greasy	Col.	-	-	-	-	-					b						b	b				-	-	-	-	-
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		a		-	-	B			-	-				-	-	-	-	-
Hotel	Col.	-	-	-	-	-		b				-	-	-	-	-	B					B	b	B	A	B
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	A	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		b	-	-	B	A	B
Judge	Col.						-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				A						
	H.S.	-	-		a		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B			-	-			B
Man	Col.	-	-	-	-	-			b		B	-	-	-	-	-			b				b		A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B			-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-		A	b
Married	Col.	-	-	-	-	-		b	A								B								A	b
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-		B	B	-	-	B			-	-		a	b
Push	Col.	-	-	-	-	-				A		-	-	-	-	-		b		A					A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	b	A		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		B	-	-		A	
Rinses	Col.	-	-	-	-	-			B	A	b	-	-	-	-	-			b	A					A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	A		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		B	-	-		A	
Roof	Col.	-	-	-	-	-			a	A		-	-	-	-	-					A				A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	b	A	b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B	B	B	-	-		A	
Room	Col.	-	-	-	-	-				A		-	-	-	-	-				a					a	b
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	B		B	-	-	b	A	
Tired	Col.	-	-	-	-	-			a			-	-	-	-	-			A	b	a				A	
	H.S.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				-	-	-	-	-	-	-		B		-	-		A	b

A = Rated significantly higher by white raters at .01 level; a = .05 level.
B = Rated significantly higher by Negro raters at .01 level; b = .05 level.
- = Not included in instrument.

English and the Culturally Deprived

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Language of and for the Negro and Other Culturally Deprived

1

Anonymous, "Objecting to the Negro Dialect," in the Literary Digest, vol. 53, Nov. 11, 1916, p. 1253.

This article contains one of the earliest public recognitions of the extremely negative reactions of whites to Negro dialects.

2

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Cultural conflicts are discussed which exist between the teacher and the world she presents in the classroom and the slum child and the world with which he is faced out of school.

3

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This is a discussion and recording of excerpts of interviews with a Negro woman of 40.

4

Calitri, C.J., "Language and the Dignity of Youth," in The Saturday Review, vol. 46, Jul. 20, 1963, pp. 46-7.

The cultural conflict between the teacher and the deprived child is discussed. Calitri stresses the point that illusion must be dropped. The teacher is advised to recognize different cultural values and to resign himself or herself to the existence of these different values.

5

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Insights are provided into reasons why Negroes choose particular names or groups of names.

6

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Cohn considers the language of the lower class as a separate dialect which involves in teaching more than the problems of method. He discusses the relationship of the lower class language to social status.

7

Conference Report, "The Elementary School in the City," in *School Life*, June 1963, Curriculum Section.

This section contains the language arts portion of the report of a conference of elementary school supervisors from 64 large cities. Common educational problems are discussed.

8

Cutts, Warren G., "Reading Unreadiness in the Underpriveliged," in the *N.E.A. Journal* U.S. Dept. of H.E. & W., Office of Education, April 1963.

Cutts contends that English language instruction for the underpriveliged must take the approach of teaching a foreign language. He feels that the emphasis in language teaching should move to the kindergarten and the first grade.

9

Eliason, N.E., "Some Negro Terms," in *American Speech*, vol. 13, Apr. 1938, pp. 151-2.

A short list of Negro student terms of the period is given.

10

"Early Language Study for Slum Children," in *School and Society*, vol. 92, Nov. 28, 1964, p. 348.

The article recommends pre-school and extra-school language training for these children to help close the educational gap.

11

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The chief interest in this study is the development of objective analysis techniques for children's speech. Social and personal implications are taken into account.

12

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Havighurst recommends that children from deprived homes be located in kindergarten and kept with their peers until they learn to read.

13

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This bulletin consists of excerpts from talks at a conference concerned with the title problem. The emphasis is on successful experiences in class on an individual, school-wide, and city-wide basis.

14

Kelly, W.M., "If You're Woke You Dig It: with Phrases and Words," in N.Y. Times Magazine, May 20, 1962, pp. 45-6.

This article is a discussion and listing of common words and phrases heard in large Negro communities such as Harlem.

15

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Khater seeks to determine whether children of different classes use language for different purposes, in what respect the patterns and functions differ, and what implications these differences hold for educators.

16

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Labov believes, on the basis of his results, that linguistic data can be used to establish objective distribution of linguistic features and to delineate class norms. This data can then be used to measure individual and class oscillation in use of features, which in turn can be correlated with social mobility and insecurity.

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LaBrant, Lou Le Vanche, A Study of Certain Language Developments of Children in Grades Four to Twelve Inclusive, Worcester Mass., Clark University, 1934.

The factors effecting language development in children are discussed. Social factors are included in the data.

18

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This study includes results of investigation into such factors as socio-economic and foreign language background. Reading ability tests given to members of an interest group as well as of a social group are also discussed.

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This study compares the reading characteristics as compared to the social characteristics of two small urban areas in Chicago.

20
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This report contains the recommendation of the Fresno County Project, an educational program for migrant children.

21
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A summary of research to date and of the problems confronting investigators.

22
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Part of the general discussion of dialects includes a discussion of the Negro variants of English. Extensive bibliographical footnotes.

23
Newton, Eunice S., "Verbal Destitution: The Pivotal Barrier to Learning," in the Journal of Negro Education, vol. 29, pp. 497-9.

Conclusions drawn from case studies include these points. Instructions shauld be free of derision and depreciation, learning experience must be concrete and meaningful, students should be exposed as often as possible to correct usage, the teacher should not appear depressed, students should be made aware of growth, opportunities to exercise their skills should be given, and the teacher should use synonymity whenever possible in defining difficult terms.

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25

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The author maintains that most standardized I.Q. tests are loaded linguistically and culturally. They do not, therefore, act as a legitimate indicator of ability when applied to cultural subgroups. He stressed the need to develop culture-free tests.

26

Riessman, F., and A. Hannah, "Teachers of the Poor" in *Il P.T.A.*, vol. 59, Nov. 1964, pp. 12-14.

Riessman claims that, to teach children of low income families effectively, their culture must be taken into account including the language of the culture itself.

27

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28

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Pronunciation of consonants and vowels as well as modes of speech, tendencies, and miscellaneous pronunciations are discussed.

29

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30

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The author relates that certain skills well developed in the middleclass child are developed before entering school, but these skills are not present in the lower-class child upon entering. She suggests that the school provide a program for developing these skills before the children start school work.

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Compiler's Note

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